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Launching Hornblower

Napoleon's Scapegoat

**Making Camouflage
Samurai Heraldry**

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Military Illustrated

Past & Present



Ioan Gruffudd portrays
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Readers' Letters

MI readers are invited to write to the Editor. Letters should be addressed to: Tim Newark, Military Illustrated
43 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LY

No Outrage

I was disappointed by Mr Nott's article on Agincourt in the March edition. It added nothing to the many other modern accounts of the battle and apart from the *sine qua non* in the last paragraph had little to do with the wargame. Additionally Mr Nott fell into the error common among amateur historians and militarists of viewing events of several hundred years ago against 20th century standards and the prevalent political correctness.

The order to kill the prisoners neither detracted from 'England's or Henry's reputation' in 1415 nor did it indicate 'a darker and more ruthless side to his heroic character.' Henry made a proper decision based on the known military situation in order to ensure the safety and success of his army. Any other competent military commander of the same period would have the courage to make the same decision. The reluctance of the men-at-arms to carry out the order was not because they were horrified but rather because they did not wish to lose the financial benefits from the ransoms. None of Henry's contemporaries in England or Europe, including the French and the Pope, condemned his actions or even thought it worthy of any great comment.

Indeed in order to support his modern view Mr Nott has been forced to misquote Shakespeare, either deliberately or through ignorance. A couple of minutes reading the pertinent lines would have shown that Fluellen's condemnation is of the French attack on the baggage train: Act IV, Scene VII, Line 1 'Kill the poys and the luggage... an arrant piece of knavery...'. The reference to the killing of the prisoners does not occur until 60 lines later when Henry sends a Herald to the French mounted third line telling them to leave or 'we'll cut the throats of those we have...'

I think this is evidence that even one hundred years later Henry's behaviour was not viewed with any distaste or dishonour, otherwise Shakespeare would not have included even such a passing reference in a play intended to lionize the King.

In order to recreate battles either as a wargame or a re-enactment with any claim to authenticity it is necessary not only to fully examine and understand the effects of the terrain but also to fully explore the standards, attitudes and more of the relevant period and ensure you understand and let them motivate

you. This fact is very clearly explained in the preceding article by Gustav Person.

Anthony Twodoor-Rowse, Fathorne

Eastern Front

I would like to point out one error in the otherwise excellent article 'Relaxing on the Eastern Front' by Martin Brayley and Robert Stedman; the NCO on page 26 is incorrectly captioned as an Unteroffizier when he can be clearly seen by his shoulder boards to be an Unterfeldwebel.

Tony Dudman, 916 Grenadier Regiment, WWII Living History Association

Mystery Ring

I found an old ring when cleaning out a cupboard in my father-in-law's house which I think dates from the First World War and is made of rolled gold. The centre position of the ring depicts a German soldier in uniform with typical pointed 'Kaiser' helmet being strangled from behind by a French soldier wearing helmet and backpack with a long bayonet or sword attached. On the band of the ring is the rather chilling inscription: 'Nous les Aurons': 'We shall have them'.

Could any of your readers shed light on the origins of the ring? Perhaps it was the unofficial insignia of a French regiment or commando group?

Neil McCarry, Glasgow

Cap Badges

I have been a military cap badge collector of only a short time, but already I have come across some unidentifiable examples. The books I have are a great source of information, but what I need is to get in touch with other collectors. Are there any clubs or individuals that you know of, and would you be willing to supply their names and address?

M Rooke, 15 Holme Crescent, Trawden, Lancs BB8 8RE

Seven Years War Info

Barton J Redmon has released a collection of his Essays on the equipment, supply, conditions, and much more, of the British soldier in North America during the Seven Years War. This collection will be of use for any re-enactor doing an impression of a Ranger, Provincial or Regular from any regiment. This work includes nine separate

essays written between 1994 and 1997.

Combined, the collection is over 100 pages in length, and can be bound into any system you currently have for your documentable information of the British army during the Seven Years War.

This series is limited to fifty copies of which 42 are still available, as of 3-15-1998. Each one is numbered, and each subscriber will be able to access additional supplements which will become available at a future date. These updates can be added with the essay collection and a new table of contents will be provided. The cost for the collection is \$20.00. Those who wish it shipped through the mail please include a \$3.00 for shipping. Send orders to: Barton J Redmon, 4222 State Route 350, Lebanon, Ohio 45036.

The Military Heraldry Society

The Military Heraldry Society was formed in 1951 to enable collectors and others interested in cloth formation signs to get together to exchange information and material. The scope of the society, which has a worldwide membership, includes formation signs (shoulder sleeve insignia), shoulder titles, regimental and unit flashes, and similar cloth items of all armed forces. Activities include regular meetings, library service, query answering service, displays and exchanges. Four journals are published each year. Apply for membership to: The Publicity Officer, Military Heraldry Society, 37 Wolsey Close, Southall, Middlesex, England UB2 4NQ.

Picture Credit

The credit to the picture of the 12th Grenadiers on p7 of MI 119 should have read: 'The Royal Collection' 1997, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II'.

Crown Imperial

The Crown Imperial Society was formed in 1973 to study the history, traditions, uniforms and insignia of the Forces of the Crown and her allies. The Society's journal is circulated four times a year, and there are monthly meetings in London and Strensall, Yorkshire. Apply for membership to: The Publicity Officer, Crown Imperial, 37 Wolsey Close, Southall, Middlesex, England UB2 4NQ.

Grenadier Notes

Mr Embleton (letter M119) has made a number of assumptions and arrived at conclusions which are well wide of the mark. He intimates that there had been little or no dialogue between us prior to the publication (article in MI 111). This is not so. We have corresponded during the course of 1997 and spoken on the telephone. In fact my approach to re-enactment was one of Gerry's first criticisms, ie favouring mainstream heritage and living history events over a fundamentalist warts-and-all, weather-beaten impression. Reference was made to 'Dolls in fancy dress'.

Part of the appeal in putting together a 1750's Redcoat impression was that it represented uncharted territory here in the UK and no one else had the guts to have a go, apart from the 1745 project and its successors. Experimentation, trial and error and a policy of 'continuous improvement' have been my guiding principles.

I am grateful for Mr Embleton's critique despite its rather acidic and patronising tone. One could go on and on answering each point in turn and risk boring devotees of other periods to death so I have chosen to address just a few key points:

- Baggy gaiters — tighter than many but I accept nowhere near tight enough. A perennial problem for latter-day re-enactors.
- Musket — Long Land Patterns are not currently in production. Bespoke models cost \$1,200+.
- Hairstyle — Gerry starts to make a very convincing and compelling case but then shoots himself in the foot by citing a 1790s style. Akin to using a 1970s punk style for WWI.
- Sleeve length — the uniform was very stiff and new when the photograph was taken. The sleeves now sit higher and with a deeper cuff. Note — some of the illustrations referred to depict quite generous sleeves. Baillie's drawings are an obvious exception.

My suppliers, all of whom are well-known and respected craftspeople, will no doubt be anxious to respond to the criticism of my mitre cap and its construction plus the other pieces of uniform and kit. Mr Embleton's less-than-charitable approach has alienated him from many of my colleagues on this side of the Channel and an increasing number are reluctant to run anything by him for fear of castigation.

On a more positive note, Mr Embleton and your readers may be interested to learn that my impression of the 12th Foot circa 1759 (subsequently the Suffolk Regiment) has helped to generate considerable publicity for the new Regimental Museum in Bury St Edmunds. I have also worked closely with the Association for Military Remembrance (The Khaki Chums) in fundraising initiatives such as the publication and sale of a new Regimental History. This is available from: Suffolk Regimental History, 218 Colchester Road, Ipswich, Suffolk IP4 4QZ. Cost: £6.00 per copy including postage (worldwide). Please make cheques payable to

The Suffolk Regiment Museum Appeal Fund.
David Whitehouse, West Midlands

Grenadier Corrections

I enjoyed Gerry Embleton's rejoinder to Mr Whitehouse's assumptions of authenticity after I took him to task on his modern hairstyle! However, I was not instrumental in forming the 5th Foot and the unit was never in the BAR during the Bicentennial Era. Rather, I formed the recreated 10th Foot for the 10th Foot Royal Lincolnshire Regimental Association as the 'American Contingent' of that Old Comrades Association, and it is still quite active and extant at this time.

My fifth volume of my series of *Officers' Guides* is published this June and it is mainly on Castrametation for the re-enactor, using the information of the 18th century and trying to correlate it to the exigencies of our times.
Vincent J R Keboe, Somis, California

Our Egyptian Allies

I was somewhat nonplussed to read David Nicolle's account of the Egyptian Army in Number 118, March 1998. Whilst agreeing that there are many aspects of World War 2 events that are ripe for sober reassessment in the light of historical research, as a fellow scholar, researcher and writer on the North African theatre of war I am truly amazed at a number of his assertions and at his mis-statement of facts.

Although his piece seems to suffer from either bad proofreading or poor sub-editing I find it difficult to believe that he seriously contends that the Egyptian Army was 'persuaded to hand Siwa over to the British', that 'the failure of an LRDG attack on the Benghazi area...' led to Siwa being taken by the Italians and was 'a loss which upset the Egyptian Army which had successfully defended Siwa for so long.' I am also mystified by his remarks about Aziz al-Masri and his references to the British send 'tanks through the Palace gates and forced the Egyptian King to do what the British Ambassador requested.'

From contemporary commentaries, published accounts and records (which are freely available to all in the UK Public Record Office) it is clear that Siwa was generally regarded as an Egyptian Army officer's punishment posting and dumping ground. Anthony Eden, as Secretary of State for War visited Siwa with the GOC in C, British Troops Egypt, in October 1940 and as a result signalled Churchill, in part: 'We both feel that no reliance can be placed on Egyptian Frontier Force under present Egyptian Officers but increase of British garrison involves very difficult question of maintenance.' (WO 193/963). The magnificently equipped Egyptian Frontier Force 1st Light Car Regiment is reported as having withdrawn from Siwa in September 1940 in some haste in consequence of the Italian success in destroying, elsewhere, one of their squadron headquarters in an air raid and thereafter the

actual defence of Siwa, such as it was, was effectively a British problem.

Siwa was never subject to, or 'successfully defended' from Axis ground attack by the Egyptian Army (or anyone else for that matter) at any time in World War 2 and the oasis was always subject to Axis airstrikes carried out with impunity whenever the Italians or Germans so desired. Preparations for a possible Italian ground attack in September 1940 were disrupted by the RAF and in any event the Italians somehow managed to persuade themselves that by November 1940 Siwa was occupied by an illusory 'five thousand irregular desert troops'. Quite how they arrived at this Intelligence assessment is a mystery, especially as they had received a complete copy of the 1939 October 10 British memorandum setting out the concept of operations for Siwa's defence which the British concluded had been passed to them by the agency of General Aziz al-Masri. The British labelled al-Masri 'pro-Axis' because they knew he was in regular contact with first the Italian and then the German Intelligence services (and indeed the Ahwher tried on several occasions to extract him from Egypt with the intention of using him as the nucleus of an anti-British Egyptian force). That al-Masri was interested only in furthering his own ideals of an Arabic cause was essentially irrelevant at the time to both the British and Axis authorities trying to get the troubled Egyptian state to come 'on side' with them in a global power struggle.

Siwa, garrisoned by British and Commonwealth troops and in use as a base for 'Green Room' raiding operations was given up in June 1942 and subsequently occupied by the Axis in July 1942 because the British authorities saw no point in incurring casualties to its 3,000 inhabitants for not the slightest tactical, strategic or political gain at a time when the main British and Commonwealth forces were in retreat. The failed 'Benghazi area' attack was carried out in September 1942 by 1 SAS, not the LRDG as such (although their patrols were with the SAS force) and was part of a concerted series of raids intended to disrupt the Axis supply lines. The 'counter demonstration' by the Sudan Defence Force referred to by David Nicolle was, if I am not mistaken, Barforce operating in support of these raids and in conjunction with the parachute raid deception operation 'Coastguard' against Siwa. (Interested readers are referred to my article on the history of Siwa in *After the Battle* No 98 published last year for further detail on these operations and actual why of Egyptian Army involvement with the LRDG). Finally, I would point out that to cap it all Dr Nicolle has perpetuated the 'British tanks at the Abdin Palace' myth. There were no British tanks in Cairo that day. Artemis Cooper's well researched book 'Cairo in the War' clearly shows that armoured cars manned by officer crews were used to crash the gates.
David List, West Ealing

Books

Adventures in the Rifle Brigade and Random Shots from a Rifleman, by John Kincaid; Spellmount; 351 & 341 pp; ISBNs 1862270201 and 1862270236; each volume £24.95.

Kincaid's volumes were both Victorian best-sellers and he enjoyed much celebrity at the time, being knighted in 1852. It is not difficult to understand why. After nearly 200 years, the pages of both these volumes still read well and vividly, communicating the experience of battle as best as any first-hand account can. Both volumes follow this member of the 95th Rifle Brigade — the model for Sharpe's novels — throughout the Peninsular War to Waterloo. He was also at Badajoz where his division assaulted the walls of the city forty times. There is much good humour in his observations as well as insight into what really motivates soldiers — of Wellington, Kincaid writes: 'we would rather see his long nose in the fight than a reinforcement of ten thousand men any day'.

David Seymour

The Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD200 by Adrian Goldsworthy; Oxford University Press; 311 pp; index and bibliography; ISBN 0198150903; £14.99.

Once again, despite the very best intentions, there seems to be an insurmountable gap between the world of the academic historian and the world of the practical historian or re-enactor. In Goldsworthy's book we have the familiar claim to how Keegan's *Face of Battle* is to be chosen as a model for his own work because it clearly does away with the book-bound 'battlepiece' and how it gets to grips with the reality of warfare, but then, as always, he bases his own recreations of moments of battle on a host of other books! For example, in his section on Roman archery, we have a passage of claims of archery range based on a whole series of foot-noted

sources. I would suggest he spend a morning not in a library but out in a field with a group of archers. Also, in this very magazine, we have published an article discussing the effectiveness of Roman archery based on practical testing of armour and bows, but, needless to say, this is not quoted. He would prefer to quote the guesses of other chair-bound historians which fit the notion of proper academic sources. Such work really is nonsense. Just as Goldsworthy claims that the development of Roman arms and armour much be based on cultural influences and not just battle experience, then he should also look at the cultural context of his own work in which academic prejudices prevent the conversations with members of the Ermine Street Guard which would answer many of the questions he poses with reference to other books without actually answering. Re-enactment in this country has now reached such a level of sophistication and serious research that it deserves to be understood and incorporated by academic historians — if not, their work will be overtaken by 'amateur' historians who actually bother to test the reality of history rather than merely research it in libraries. This is not to say the book is not good, it is very good on many aspects, especially the reality of campaigning, but it could have been better.

Tim Newark

The Note-Books of Captain Coignet by Captain Jean-Roch Coignet; Greenhill Books; 292 pp; ISBN 1853673137; £12.99.

Captain Coignet was active throughout the Napoleonic Wars, witnessing most of the great military events. His career began as a conscript in the Italian campaign and was then followed by the battles of Austerlitz and Jena, the taking of Madrid and Vienna, the campaign and retreat from Russia, Leipzig, and finally Waterloo. In

fact, where wasn't he present? It is also remarkable bearing in mind the murderous nature of warfare then with lines of soldiers having to stand before volleys of cannon-fire. In one frightening passage, he describes the impact of cannon balls on his own unit. 'A ball struck a whole file, and knocked them all three head over heels on top of me. I fell to the ground. "Keep cool," I called out; "close up at once." — "But, sergeant, the hilt of your sabre is gone, your cartridge-pouch is half cut off." "That's nothing; the battle is not yet over." Such vivid accounts make this one of the more superior of first-hand recollections of the Napoleonic Wars.

David Seymour

Lord of the Horizons by Jason Goodwin; Chatto & Windus; 352 pp; bibliography and index; ISBN 0701136693; £18.00.

This is military history written from the travel writer's point of view which means it lacks somewhat the academic rigour of a more serious study but more than makes up for it by being highly readable. This is a full history of the Ottoman experience from their days as steppe tribesmen — hence the title of the book — to the decline and fall of their empire. The general thesis is made and hard to refute that, unlike the Romans or the British, the Ottomans were never happy with their empire-making, did not make good empire-ruling bureaucrats, and thus left much of the day-to-day running of the empire to other races, thus suiting native ruling classes and enabling them to maintain an empire of such diversity that, in the wake of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, seems a major achievement way beyond that of the United Nations (much of this due to the fact that when military intervention was needed it would be applied in an enormous and ruthless manner, thus ensuring a quick return to the status quo).

Tim Newark

To Fool a Glass Eye by Roy M Stanley; Airlife; 192 pp, many b/w illustrations; ISBN 1853108626; £24.95.

This is a great story telling how camouflage was used in World War Two to conceal military installations and formations from aerial reconnaissance. Its main point of interest and range of examples concerns how German camouflage experts defeated the eyes of Allied aircraft — one major German research establishment remained undiscovered until it was physically overrun by Allied troops in the final days of the war. Praise is also given to the eagle-eyed interpreters of aerial photographs who spotted the first V2 missile sites. An excellent array of black and white photographs record the weird and wonderful methods used to hide objects as large as factories from bombardment. All in all this is an unusual and fascinating study.

Tim Newark

Officers of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, 16th March 1689 – 4th August 1914 compiled by Major E L Kirby; £48.50 hardback.

This latest volume of information on what must be one of the Army's best documented regiments is the product of many years of labour by Major Peter Kirby, founder and first curator of the Regimental Museum and Archives in Caernarfon Castle. It is as comprehensive a record as could be compiled of all officers known to have received regular commissions in The Royal Welch Fusiliers from the time of its foundation in 1689 until the outbreak of the Great War. Those therefore who seek information on Militia, Volunteer or Territorial officers — or officers commissioned after 1914 — must await some future compilation.

The work is alphabetically arranged and indexed over 140 pages and contains details of over

1500 officers, dealing with their careers from the time of commissioning until their death and where known, including information on place and date of birth, family connections, and other personal details as well as details of orders, decorations and medals held. There are records of the great and good; Brigadier Arthur Lowry Cole, for example, scion of an illustrious military family, killed while in command of a brigade in 1915; Henry Ellis, who served with the regiment throughout the Peninsular War and who died while in command at Waterloo; General James Willoughby Gordon, also of Peninsular fame; and Luke O'Connor VC, who rose from Private soldier to Major General. There are details too of the not so great; simple men like Captain Henry Hickman of Kilmore, Connty Clare, or young Ensign le Maitre who died of fever in the West Indies. There are too some remarkable tales of bravery and of suffering: John Hill, for example, one of whose descendants is serving with the regiment today: 'underwent two surgical operations to overcome damage he received when his horse fell on him at Nivelles. He... was present at Waterloo, where his horse was killed and when in

the front line of the square a splinter of bone (someone else's) was driven into his right eye. He had two splinters of stone in his cheek. He also received a bullet wound in the left of his jaw and a half pound iron grape shot entered his left breast...' Somehow, Hill survived until 1835, having been present at every battle at that time commemorated on the Regimental Colour except Minden.

The book is without doubt a labour of love, but that said it will be enormously useful to military historians whether amateur or professional, as well as to medal collectors and genealogists. It is available from Regimental Headquarters The Royal Welch Fusiliers, Hightown Barracks, Wrexham, Clwyd.
J P Riley

Wordsworth Military Library:
The Struggle for Europe by Chester Wilmot; *Hitler* by John Toland; *The Right of the Line* by John Terraine; *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* by Louis L Snyder; *Bonaparte* by Corelli Barnett; and many others.

Every publisher's doing it, but Wordsworth does it cheaper. Military reprints are now a

substantial part of the military market and it is not all bad news. Wordsworth have trawled through the archives and come up with many excellent reprints at very reasonable prices, including Toland's major study of Hitler and several of John Terraine's excellent works. Mainly choosing titles connected with World War Two, the range promises to include other earlier wars as well. Well worth looking out for as a way of filling gaps in one's library.

Martin Wedgewood

Explaining Hitler by Ron Rosenbaum; Macmillan; ISBN 0333 734572 £25.00

There have been so many hooks about Adolf Hitler, so many attempts to explain him as a madman or an evil genius, and it is this process that gives Rosenbaum's book a twist on what has gone before. Rosenbaum tracks down the historians and biographers, the surviving contemporaries of the Nazi era, and talks to them about their vision of Hitler, what it says about us and our changing view of this 20th century monster, and how close it gets to the truth. He hunts down the folklore, the legends of his

bizarre sexuality, the tales of safety deposit boxes in Swiss banks containing devastating truths about him. It is a fascinating journey that gets close to revealing the changing process of history. Coming from a leading American journalist, it also reads well, conjuring up many remarkable images.
Martin Wedgewood

Dark Continent — Europe's Twentieth Century by Mark Mazower; Allen Lane; 512 pp; notes, index; ISBN 0713991593; £20.00.

Idealism, for some naive reason, is still regarded as a positive trait, a virtue. In Mark Mazower's profound and truthful book, idealism is at the root of this century's greatest evils in Europe. The horrors of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia are not some alien phenomenon visited on an essentially reasonable and democratic Europe by a handful of madmen. They are simply the most extreme, most perfect, versions of a desire to create an ideal society that has plagued Europe from the 18th century onwards. Communism and Fascism are something that Europe does better than any other culture in the world. We invented totalitarianism and central planning and then exported it to the rest of the world to cause wars and chaos there as well. This is Europe's heritage and Mazower shows brilliantly and clearly how this plunged all its people into the nightmare of the early 20th century. It was not nation states in competition with each other that caused World Wars One and Two, but specific cultures taking their desire for an ideal state to the point where they had to eliminate their more traditional liberal-capitalist neighbours to survive. This is the lesson of the 20th century for all Europeans and should make us weary of any future attempts at ideal societies, whether they be a United States of Europe or some other European Union fantasy. As Mazower quotes from one source in the book: 'Anyone with visions needs to see a doctor'.

Tim Newark

June Military Diary

6-7	Tudor Mercenaries at Warwick Castle, Wares. A 16th century mercenary encampment is being re-created at this splendid site. 01926 495421	20-21	New France and Old England present an 18th century Colonial living history skirmish at Audley End House, Essex. 01799 522399
6-7	The Lace Wars with the Jacobites at Carlisle Castle circa 1745. Carlisle Castle, North West. Military displays and skirmishes of the period. 01228 591922	20-21	The White Company present a Medieval weekend at Stokesay Castle, Shropshire. 01588 672544
6-7	The Garrison of Tilbury Fort in two world wars, presented by various groups. Infantry and artillery, with gun firings and tactical displays. Tilbury Fort, Essex. 01375 858489	20-21	A Royal Victorian weekend at Warwick Castle, Warks. The Diehards will be presenting an encampment and displays of drill and musketry, along with other units. 01926 495421
7	Victorian gun firing at Fort Nelson, Fareham, Hants, by the Portsdown Artillery Volunteers. 01329 233734	20-21	The World War II Living History Association present living history and battles at Witley Court, Worcs. Allied and Axis forces engage in action circa 1944. 01299 896636
13-14	The Association of Crown Forces present Ballads and Bayonets at Boscobel House, Shropshire. Displays of musketry cannon firing and drill from the year 1776. 01902 850244	21	The Garrison at Dover Castle, Kent, present an army field kitchen from the period of World War Two. 01304 202754 or 01304 201628
13-14	Ralph Needham and Chris Jordan, with other members, present Surgeons through the ages at Portland Castle, Dorset. See how medical techniques have assisted the military through the periods of wars. 01305 820539	21-22	Ralph Needham is a Victorian Recruiting Sergeant at Richmond Castle, North Yorkshire. If you feel like taking the Queen's shilling, then come along and talk over a career in the Victorian Army. 01748 822493
13-14	Prince Rupert's Blewcoat regiment of the Sealed Knot, present an English Civil War weekend, complete with encampment, at Ford Nelson, Fareham, Hants. 01329 233734	27-28	The Great Siege of Dover Castle, Kent, of 1216, is recreated by various groups including Conquest, armoured men-at-arms, and mounted knights. 01304 202754 or 01304 201628
14	Meet a Roman soldier at Corbridge Roman Site, Northumberland. Ask how the equipment felt and the weapons were used in a face-to-face meeting. 01434 632349	27-28	The Great War Society present Tommies from the Great War of 1914-1918, at Pendennis Castle, Cornwall. The garrison and guardhouse of the period is recreated and a presentation of uniforms, tactics and weapons will also be given. 01326 316594
15-16	The Castle Garrison of Warwick Castle, Warks, turn out as 15th century Knights to defend their Earl in combat. 01926 595421	27-28	The award-winning Ermine Street Guard present the Roman Army at Stonehenge, Wilts. An encampment is being set up and a crew will also be firing a catapult. 01980 623108
18	The well-known Brockhurst Artillery Volunteers firing the 18 Pounder gun from the First World War at Fort Nelson, Fareham, Hants. 01329 233734	27-28	The Fury of the Norsemen is presented by the Vikings at Whithy Abbey, North Yorkshire. An 11th century encampment is recreated and there is also a clash between Vikings and Saxons. 01947 603568

Launching Hornblower



Who would have thought that the first time I sailed as a 'gunner' with the crew of a square-rigged fighting ship on the Black Sea off the south-west Crimea in 1992, it would be repeated in exactly the same place and five years later to the day. The main difference was that the latter ship was still afloat, manned not by crazy Ukrainians fitted with enormous false beards and enormous scimitars to a man to make them look like 'pirates', but English-speaking seamen who were well-versed in ship handling.

Unfortunately the first ship was now at the bottom of Sevastopol harbour, having been moored between the dock and a Russian battleship in a storm and well and truly 'scuppered' — a bad end for a fine vessel wrecked by a lack of attention. No such accident was likely to happen to my second ship, *Hornblower* — the first two of the planned episodes — were finally 'under way' despite many problems and previous aborted attempts. The epic film *Captain Horatio Hornblower RN* on the big screen with Gregory Peck as 'Horatio Hornblower', would now be complemented by the serialised adventures of this ever-popular hero's younger years on the smaller one.

Creation of the film's many vessels — a whole fleet of which were required in addition

to the 'real-life' ones — began eighteen months previously in 1996 with our old friend Andrew Mollo (Production Designer). Once again braving the northern Russian snows of the Baltic in winter, he travelled to Petrosavodsk along with Martin Saville (Model-building Supervisor) seeking out the people capable of building this fully-detailed 'lilliputian' armada, then travelling to the Crimea once more to lay out the 'shooting' sets. Filming for *Hornblower* began in September of 1997, with scenes on land to 'wet everybody's whistle' and get us bedded-in.

For the two weeks prior to that, I'd trained a party of sixteen Royal Marines for the (sometimes dirty) work of protecting the Flag overseas on land, and dealing with errant seaman on board ship. As past readers will know, tasks like this are not uncommon to me — we got on very well together and their abilities and continuing enthusiasm were never fully challenged in the fourteen weeks we spent together. Watching from the sidelines as the Marines loaded and fired, fixed bayonets, fought hand-to-hand, and practiced boarding ships and getting in and out of boats, over 200 valiant Yaltese men and boys had answered our handbills (the initial criteria for fit men with long hair was soon amended by Giles Butler, our 2nd AD and 'recruiting officer' as only five lads were found in Yalta to fit the bill!) to man the ships and make a film of it to boot. These brave lads (one of whom proved to have been a harpoonist in the Russian whaling fleet,

This year's major TV historical drama blockbuster is *Hornblower*, based on the famous novels of C. S. Forester's Napoleonic naval hero. Scheduled to be screened in the autumn, RICHARD RUTHERFORD-MOORE gives MI an exclusive behind-the-scenes account of the events that threatened to wreck the making of *Hornblower* — from storms and seasickness to rats hungry for bacon sandwiches!

hurling a ten-pound spear accurately over forty yards and who'd never had an argument with anyone in his life — you'd have to see him to understand why) first learned to handle the 'great guns' from scratch with me. We named the two we practiced on 'Vodka' and 'Tonic' — and in between gun drills learned cutlass and musket fighting, swinging from the rigging and generally increased their muscle power in odd ways with Sash Filatov, Jordi Casares and Angel Gomez, first-class stuntmen who were out there to supervise and co-ordinate. At the end of each day, we all crawled home dry and exhausted in the heat — ninety degrees at noon. Twice for a break I went off to the model hanger to visit Martin Saville in 'solitary confinement' working like mad to try and get the models ready on time, and help paint the stern décor or a hull of the ten vessels then wedged in there, each the size of a small truck. A visit from a Ukrainian TV documentary team one day brought on an impromptu rendition of 'Hearts of Oak' from me, holding a paintbrush in one hand and a small carronade in the other and feeling quite 'salty'. It made the national news (which gives you a clue as to what else is of interest to report in the Ukraine these days).

At weekends, I'd be off taking my 'battlefield tours' out to Sevastopol and Balaklava to continue studying the topography of the 1854-5 and 1941-4 wars in the Crimea. The old gang of past adventures appeared, and you will see some familiar 'South Essex' faces

Hornblower (Ian Gruffudd) at the wheel of 'Indy' with Sir Edward Pellew (Robert Lindsay).

Right: The frigate squadron at sea; no 'enemy in sight' (photo courtesy Martin Saville).

amongst the seamen on board ship — a small but select club was founded by those who had served before on previous productions and now 'listed' as seaman in the Royal Navy — the recognition signal being putting a brush under your armpit as a crutch and one leg up behind you, closing one eye and saying 'Ab-Hah, Jim Lad'; and the reply being 'Them As Dies Will Be the Lucky Ones' — you guessed it.

Bacon Sandwich

The setting for most of the sea and land scenes was Artek Bay, a beautiful spot along the coast from Yalta. This place is famous for its association with the 'Young Pioneers' (the Russian equivalent of The Boy Scouts) — two of them serving as 'ships' boys'. The first of our vessels arrived — a topsail schooner named Julia, coming over from Turkey, skippered by Clive 'Topsy' Toner and crewed by Simon and Seb. She made a fine sight, as you'll see. Topsy was bitten in a bed by a rat from 'the cargo of rice' which later came to a sudden end at the hands of another skipper Roger Gardiner who doesn't mess about with a boarding axe when a bacon sandwich is threatened by a rodent pushing its luck and already earmarked for an early bath! The corpse was buried at sea with absolutely no ceremony at all, save a swipe from the shovel.

Hornblower's 'examination for lieutenant' takes place in Livadia Palace in Yalta, built pre-Revolution as a summer residence for Tsar Nicholas II. The palace was later used as the base for the 1945 Conference of the USSR, USA and Great Britain (we used Winston Churchill's temporary sitting room for one scene). The waiting 'midshipmen' got bored with the proceedings and finding a grand piano upstairs, an impromptu jam-session in good old Russian fashion took place (one of the extras was actually a trainee concert pianist but loved jazz), before getting too noisy — perfectly in character, I thought when the lid of the instrument was firmly closed and locked by one of the assistant directors racing up the stairs from the set below. In the pre-examination scene, my friend and interpreter is the 'middy' with the bottle, and it isn't water he is drinking — a miracle!

One of the sails from Julia had to be unshipped to enable the laborious removal from it by means of scrubbing-brush and spirit of a giant thirty-foot Panda embellishment from her time as 'flagship' representing the World Wildlife Fund. Subtle 'set-dressing' removed other obvious signs of



Above: Hornblower (Ioan Gruffudd) and 'Able Seaman' Matthews (Paul Copley) discuss events on shore as the Marines form a rearguard.

modern days — a barrel was plonked over the engine exhaust on deck, and dummy windows, bulwarks, side-rails and a stern gallery added to give her an 18th century 'trader' look. Any interiors were done on 'land' with a duplicate below-decks set built complete with a gimbal system to mimic the rolling of the ship at sea (it didn't work too well, and was later replaced by crew muscle-power on levers which was in turn replaced by a special camera fitting).

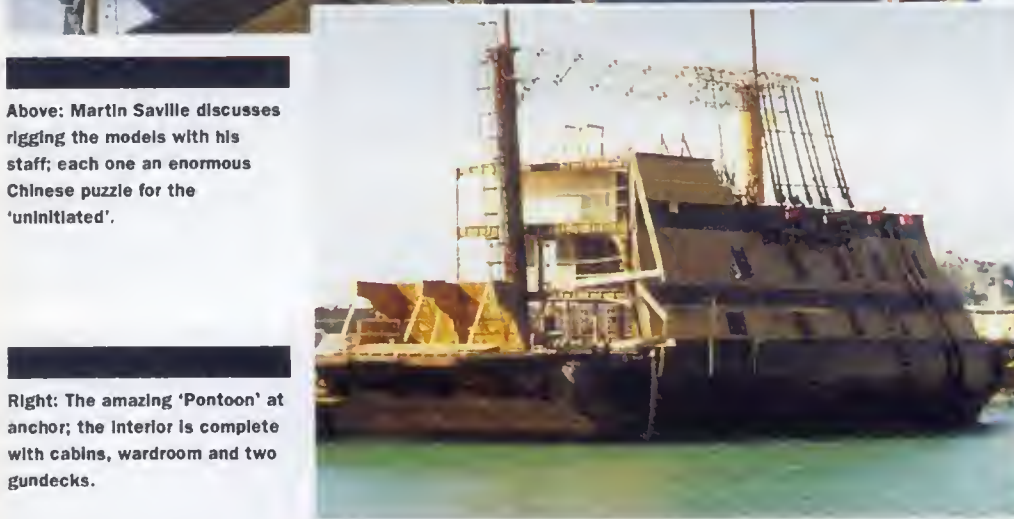
Below: Grand Turk becomes HMS Indefatigable; the transformation is complete.



The harbour at Artek began to look like a mini Napoleonic Portsmouth — crews manning longboat and cutter and rowing in and out in all kinds of seas, cranes hoisting cannonbarrels onto carriages, the squad of Royal Marines marching around with shouldered muskets, seamen-cadets of the Black Sea Fleet from Kirch 'aloft' on the yards making sail, ships' carpenters hammering up bulkheads and fitting out the 'Pontoon' — an enormous full-size replica of the midships hull



Above: Martin Saville discusses rigging the models with his staff; each one an enormous Chinese puzzle for the 'uninitiated'.



Right: The amazing 'Pontoon' at anchor; the interior is complete with cabins, wardroom and two gundecks.

of a third-rate man o'war built around a floating three-hundred ton steel 'dock' from the Sevastopol navy yards, complete with snotty's mess, wardroom, officers' cabins and two replica gundecks. Our valiant and versatile stunts department became 'cattle wranglers', as one scene called for a herd of bullocks to be placed on a floating raft from the quayside, pulled out to sea and the seasick animals swung up by block and tackle onto Julia one by one — by Neptune, this was easier said than done (each of them weighed a quarter of a ton) — but it is all in a days work for those lads, who managed several tasks that were daunting in their prospects. I later found when the butchered beef was being hoisted aboard ship, when it is 'aloft' and everyone lets go of the line and you don't, there is a swift change of places!

As with all enterprises of this sort, the cutter and longboat under oars at sea were circled by the watchful rubber zodiac safety-boats, and each person off-camera on the water wore a bright red life preserver and waterproof suit. These occasionally marred an otherwise romantic photo but they were necessary, as we would later find out. Each man wore his uniform from the costume

department each 'practice' day, fitted out by John Mollo and Gordon Harmer (who threatened to sew up all the midshipmen's pockets if they persisted in walking about with their hands in them, reflecting the original observation of the period about young naval 'officers'!) providing many good off-duty opportunities for photos: after cannon drills, lounging smoking against large barrels of salt meat, or hauling 'lively' on lines, sitting on deck watching topmen working high above, or resting on their oars red-faced after a long pull back to the harbour to build up their stamina.

Drank It Dry

A local entrepreneur re-opened his seasonal small bar by the harbour to take financial advantage of the appearance of the many thirsty 'seamen' suddenly rolling about in the vicinity. The Royal Marines showed great initiative in this aspect — noting this re-opening, they chose to 'raid' it on one of our 'landing party' practices with fixed bayonets, looking for 'contraband' — in the tradition of the Service they drank it dry of cold beer, had a smoke and disappeared without trace before settling the bill!

The power of our great guns was initially underrated, suspected upon my first inspection of the designs. During the first tests with gunpowder charges, they all had to go back to the Sevastopol navy yard where they were strengthened to take the powder-charges we would be using. For any student of artillery, it will be interesting to note that the cannons were based around launcher tubes from 'Katyusha' rocket artillery, the old 'Stalin Organs' of World War Two fame. The criteria we aimed at was that they had to recoil as the originals did when fired, and we achieved it; it was later confounded by a long stretch of bad weather at sea which swelled all the trucks of the carriages and set them solid, effectively putting the 'handbrake' on all of them! In addition to worm, sponge, rammer, linstock and powder horn another item was added to the props when 'Beat to Quarters' — a pair of earplugs for each

gunner! My training programme became more than just 'acting' — each man had to know what to do and have his wits about him when at 'Quarters' — the great guns were powerful weapons that would deal savagely with any mishap. We didn't have any on the production I'm happy to say in any of the ten six-man crews I trained, bless 'em — as I've found in the past, they don't ask for much, just a bit of leadership and trust — but I could tell a few yarns to any 're-enactor' who has an interest in sea-going practical artillery handling, though.

In a private observation I also found that past boarding actions might stand a little examination by any student of naval engagements as portrayed in novel, film and television — with the 'tumblehome' of vessels clad as they are in boarding nets, swinging across on a rope onto any sort of defended deck is nigh on suicide and when alongside hull-to-hull, even after grappling, the decks are between eight and sixteen feet apart making any leap a terrible risk even for an Olympic standard athlete (which I freely admit I ain't). Apart from scrambling onto and leaping from one set of main chains to another (which would severely limit the numbers in the assault) or across a bowsprit impaled in the enemy rigging (same factor applies) or a yard (not even considered, I'm afraid — even though I read about it being done between *Bonhomme Richard* and *Serapis*) I couldn't see how it can be done effectively without great loss of life or limb to the boarders save running out gangplanks to bridge the gap (the enemy would not stand idly by and watch, and again the above factor applies) or crawling out through the lower deck portholes — in view of what is looking out from the opposite one I don't think I'd care to try that either! These experiments needless to say were attempted one-handed in their simulation; the other would be holding some sort of weapon, I presumed — the enemy has no such disability. He can poke, slash, club or

shoot you as you clamber around trying to look where your hands and feet are going and not at him — with impunity. Sheathing your weapon to gain your other hand just makes the situation worse (or better — for the enemy). No doubt there are factual accounts somewhere — and our period 'naval' enthusiast readers of the Historical Maritime Society who supplied advice and support to the project are even now reaching for pen and paper — they will make interesting reading for me and the other 'Indies' in a 'practical' sense.

'Mister Midshipman Hornblower' is played by Ioan Gruffudd; 'Sir Edward Pellew' is played by Robert Lindsay; Ian McNeice as 'Mr Tapling' and Michael Byrne plays Hornblower's 'first', Captain Keene. Hornblower first arrives at Justinian lying at anchor at Spithead in a jolly-boat propelled by the oars of two stout Russian 'gels' in the pouring rain of powerful hosepipes, directed at them by Derek Langley of Special Effects who also supervises heavy snow, direct hits from cannonballs, blazing fireships and falling rigging. Later smaller and more animated 'effects' by the standby prop Brian Henry include rodents staggering under the effects of the Black Plague, whole sides of beef hanging from a yard in a rowing boat and picturesque seagulls circling an open boat at sunset.

Seasick

In the early scenes at sea, some of the crew were inevitably seasick. The Black Sea saved the worst for later, but firmly tested each soul in the early days — it stood us in good stead for what was to come. After a week filming scenes on Julia and in four open boats everyone had begun to find their sea-legs and become familiar with the demands of making films at sea on open water; a very tough logistical prospect for film-making purposes on a daily basis with no allowance made for bad weather or other similar problems — you just have to go ahead and do it, regardless. It made me regard some of my earlier reading with a jaundiced eye — once again in terms of 're-enactment' it was nought like what I'd expected, in the practical sense. Like an American seaman-friend of mine says — 'It'll cure ya; or it'll kill ya'; he also stated that the old film adage 'Never work with kids or animals' should also be extended to include all sailing ships at sea after his trials and tribulations on 'Cut-throat Island'.

All was not well with the Model Unit; the tank looked good (all ten thousand gallons of it); the wind machine and wave creator functioned and made pretty convincing 'seas' for the ships to bob about on. The tiny cannons fired, sending tiny cannon balls

skipping over the wavetops and thudding through canvas sails; explosions tore through the models and masts fell convincingly (they did when you watched the replays at the correct film speed) — even a passing longboat 'pulled' by small clockwork sailors!

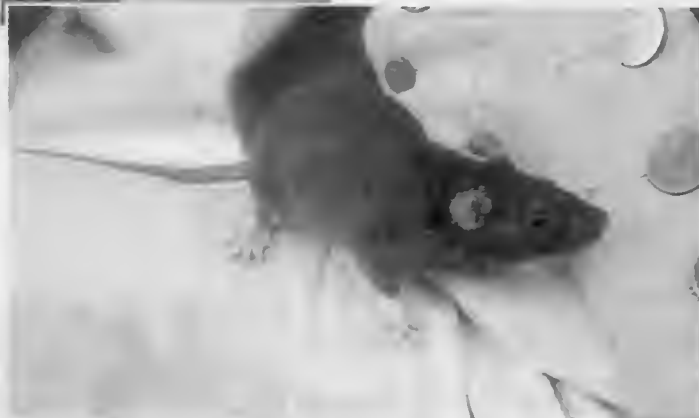
But, it was a tremendously daunting prospect, and the Russian lads couldn't quite get their heads around it in time. The little armada was packed up into 'ordinary' and left for Pinewood Studios, England — courtesy of another fleet, five articulated trucks.

The second of our vessels arrived; the magnificent *Grand Turk* on its maiden voyage, a 'sixth-rate' three-masted square-rigged ship crewed by another set of stalwart English-speaking (but thoroughly international) 'seapersons' newly built in the Sea of Marmara under the auspices of the shipwright, Ian MacDougall, a real 'old sea-dog' who went on to serve as our Marine Co-ordinator; a thankless, wet and miserable task at times but very well managed by him. Both vessels were owned by Mr Michael Turk, a Royal Waterman to HM Queen on the River Thames, who stayed with them during filming. As the *Grand Turk* pulled into Artek Bay, we saluted it with a volley from flintlock muskets fired by the Armoury and Special Effect departments (an event marred only by the poor quality of the gunpowder). As the smoke cleared, for the crew of *Grand Turk* it was the beginning of ten days of very hard work; taking on sails, establishing the 'running' rigging, holding stores and shipping cannons to bring the ship up to a state where it could become HMS *Indefatigable*, the famous fighting frigate of the Napoleonic Royal Navy.

We came to know *Grand Turk* very well over the next nine weeks; below decks in the dark in heaving seas at night, or on deck during the days at sea where each person had his or her



Left: The author discharging a reproduction French naval pistol of the period, testing gunpowder strength.



Below: A ship-rat joins the Royal Marines for lunch. These rodents were the only living things aboard that had teeth strong enough to manage our ships' biscuit!

allotted 'square foot' of space to stand in and no more. Life developed into a routine, broken only by the unexpected event like a school of dolphin off the port bow. Meals and snacks came onboard consistently on time and on target by way of the caterers, Set Meals, who became utterly maritime overnight and brought home to most of us that 'a hot cup of coffee can be the difference between being shot for cowardice and being decorated for bravery' and not a weevil in sight (except the ones specially-bred for the scene where the cabin-servant — in reality, Francovich the Russian assistant armourer — dishes them up to 'Pellew' for supper). Conditions on board ship meant an enforced No Smoking rule — some 'crewmen' gave up completely after weeks of putting to sea, leaving dock in the early hours and getting back after dark, unable to indulge. Others — no doubt emulating their ancestors — found quieter corners 'forward' to have a quick fag away from the eyes of the master-at-arms. In time and with the sympathy of the 'officers' the rule was partly relaxed for freezing cold extras and crew; except when at 'Quarters' manning the guns, a place on deck was earmarked, complete with a water-filled bucket for the 'butts'.

As time went on, uniforms which had been comfortable and serviceable in the burning heat of day under a Crimean sun and the mild evenings of September and early October, proved not to be so in the cold and wet days and nights of late November and December. Seawater — once a refuge for the overheated — became a curse for those already suffering the cruel north wind. In an open boat at night



Left: 'Vodka' and 'Tonic' (see text) and one of the larger 32 pounder guns in the background on the training deck on shore. Continuous gun-drills led to several parting lines and improvised 'jury-rigs' during practice.

Right: The 'bullock raft' with a heavy load, leaving harbour; the cutter is in the background, loading with Marines ready for the short trip out to sea.



Below: Hornblower and HM's 'Man at Oran' Mr Tapling (Ian McNelce) look worried — the Black Plague has manifested itself only three feet away!



at sea, dressed as a seaman or marine with your feet awash sitting for hours on a wet wooden slat with nowhere to go, there is no escape from the numbing, creeping cold. Unless you've suffered it, you've no idea what it is really really like.

Stormy Weather

We were hit one night towards the end of the filming schedule by a storm-squall, unexpected and coming on extremely quickly. For those who haven't had this experience on board a sailing ship (and I sincerely hope you never do) it is hard for a writer of my limited experience to frame a few sentences to bring it to life for you; it is all of exhilarating and frightening, dangerous and exciting, spectacular and seriously worrying but utterly memorable (if

you remain alive to tell the tale I suppose) — and all these emotions occur simultaneously. It is also at such times that you find out if you have a ships' crew or just a horde. *Grand Turk* was in some danger during the storm from all manner of things — being on a lee shore made of concrete, the crazily swinging heavy and live electric

floodlights hoisted into the rigging, an enormous Russian trawler which approached rather too close in most opinions, in addition to having fifty pounds of gunpowder on deck at the time — but we all got off safely, albeit soaked through by the wind-driven rain and seaspray. *Grand Turk* suffered no lasting damage, thanks to the people who took charge and everyone else on board having the confidence of the past weeks' experiences to obey their instructions without question. I had a brief scare later that night too — on a quayside only ten feet wide sitting in a minibus after leaving the ship thinking that I was in relative safety on 'dry' land — when a wave higher than the ship burst over the breakwater and the bus was swept sideways under the deluge to within a tyre width of a

twelve-foot drop into a heaving fifty-foot deep icy cold swelling blackness. People who see my grey hairs now know where I got them. The ships' crew spent a horrid night on deck until the gale blew itself out, then quietly and efficiently replaced the gear that had carried away and were again 'in all respects ready for sea'.

I did get a chance by volunteering — thanks to David Mason, our 'First Lieutenant' — to fulfil a fantasy from childhood by climbing up a mast and serving as ships' lookout. I have always wanted to do this, having been brought up from an early age on a diet of *Treasure Island*, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Last of the Mohicans*. When you are up there — and it is no joke climbing those ratlines and outwards up the shrouds, disdaining the lubbers' hole like a good seaman — you can see for miles if you can find somewhere to perch that isn't wet and slippery and hold your telescope with a hand turning blue with cold and find a place to look that isn't criss-crossed with lines, halyards, sheets, yards, stays or braces and the day not so flaming foggy that visibility was down to only fifty feet. I did also get a 'small part' as Captain Harvey of the Dockyard during young Horatio's examination for Lieutenant, but the former experience was by far the most memorable, something I'll treasure for a long time.

When *Grand Turk* left us, following Julia the week before, sailing out from Artek harbour into the murk of the Black Sea on a grey day with low cloud and damp in the air on the return voyage to Turkey, it was quite an emotional parting; she fired two guns as a farewell salute and everyone turned out to see her go (not many could 'read' the signal she flew from the halyards). *Grand Turk* and her valiant crew had served their purpose well. And me — after having gained additional practical experience marching for five years with 'Wellington's Army' on *Sharpe* as a greenjacket, I can also now rope, hand, splice and steer, plot my position and lay a course amongst many diverse sea-faring things as a bluejacket; and another thing I learned too — from a wee taste of things recreating *Hornblower*, they certainly must have been 'wooden ships and iron men' in 'Nelson's Navy'.

Mr Midshipman Hornblower ('The Even Chance/Cargo of Rice' and 'The Examination For Lieutenant') was produced for Meridian Television by Andrew Benson, directed by Andrew Grieve; two additional episodes ('Frogs and Lohsters' and 'The Duchess and the Devil') will go into production in early 1998.

Sevastopol 1854-5 — the book containing Richard's five-year on-site researches and explorations in the Crimea — will be available later this year. Richard is a tour guide for *Midas Historic Tours*.



The Hollywood Regiment

In the years before World War Two, many British actors travelled to California to become major Hollywood stars. Frequently chosen for roles in films about adventures of the British Empire, many of these stars had actually served in the British Army and brought their military experience to the part. **GEORGE NEWARK** reveals these members of the Hollywood Regiment with their military pedigree.

From the end of the Great War in 1918 to the start of the Second World War in 1939, many British actors set out for Hollywood — then, as now, the film capital of the world — seeking work or, hopefully, stardom. Some succeeded, a great many failed; but, with the advent of ‘talkies’ in 1927, their training and experience on the British stage gave them a

distinct advantage over the local talent in vying for ‘classy’ roles and a few did indeed, become ‘stars’. The majority, however, earned a comfortable living as supporting actors or character actors. Most of them had served in the navy, army or air force during the Great War and retained the manner and bearing of military men. Some had been

decorated for bravery and many of them had been wounded in action. They became a tight-knit expatriate colony, surrounding themselves with reminders of their homeland and British institutions. They wore tweed suits, formed polo clubs and cricket teams, read week old copies of the London Times and took tiffin on the lawn with the

Left: Clive Brook (1887-1974) in *Shanghai Express* with Marlene Dietrich. This actor epitomized the Hollywood English colonial. He joined the Artists' Rifles as a Private in 1914, was commissioned six months later, and served in the Machine Gun Corps throughout The Great War. He turned to acting after demobilisation and, following a successful stage career in London, moved to Hollywood in 1924. His military roles in sound pictures included Lieutenant Durrance in the second American film version of A E W Mason's *The Four Feathers* (1929), Captain Donald Harvey of the Royal Army Medical Corps, opposite Marlene Dietrich, in the spy drama *Shanghai Express* (1932), and Lieutenant Robert Marriot of the City Imperial Volunteers in a Hollywood production of Noel Coward's *Cavalcade* (1934). The latter film chronicles the trials and tribulations of an English family from the Boer War, through the Great War, and into the 1930s. No actor, before or since, has looked so elegant on screen as Clive Brook in full evening dress — or in khaki drill!



Left: John Loder (1898-1988), publicity photograph. '29 April 1916 — From Commander of Dublin Forces to Padraic Pearse — A woman has come in and tells me you wish to negotiate. I am prepared to receive you in Britain Street at the north end of Moore Street provided that you surrender unconditionally... Signed W H M Lowe, Brigadier General.' So read the message dictated by General Lowe and taken down by his ADC (and son) Lieutenant John Lowe ending the Easter Rising in Dublin. Lieutenant Lowe stood beside his father as Padraic Pearse surrendered, and escorted him to Kilmainham Prison. Born in 1898 and educated at Eton and Sandhurst, John Lowe was commissioned into the 15th Hussars in 1915 and served at Gallipoli and in Egypt before being appointed ADC to his father in Ireland. He rejoined his regiment later in 1916 and served with distinction at the Somme and many other battles on the Western Front before being captured in March 1918. After the war he appeared in a number of British and German

Right: Sir Guy Standing (1874-1937) in *Lives of a Bengal Lancer*. First appearing on the London stage in 1889, he had a successful career in Britain and America until 1914. When the Great War broke out he returned to Britain and, having been a sailor in his youth and holding a Master's Certificate, offered his services to the Admiralty. His first command was a reconditioned yacht on the Dover Patrol but he was later given command of a destroyer. He rose to the rank of Commander before being wounded in action, transferred to the Intelligence Service, and subsequently serving in the United States as a member of the British



films before moving to America, changing his name to John Loder, and joining the Hollywood Regiment. John Loder's former calling followed him to America where his off-screen antics earned him a reputation as a playboy and the nickname 'The Hollywood Hussar'. Although he was cast as a cowboy in his first American film, he will be remembered as Flight

Lieutenant Paddy Carson, RAF in *Eagle Squadron* (1942) a story of American pilots in the RAF during the Battle of Britain, and Captain Craig Killian in a bizarre POW drama *The Gorilla Man* (1942).

War Mission. He was made a CBE in 1918 and a KBE in 1919. He returned to acting in 1925 and made his first film in Hollywood in 1933 playing a Major in the Royal Flying Corps in *The Eagle and the Hawk*. His best remembered film role was martinet Colonel Tom Stone commanding the fictional 41st Bengal Lancers in *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1935) loosely adapted from the book by Major F Yeats-Brown. Sir Guy Standing died in Hollywood at the age of 63 from the effects of a snakebite, or the bite of a poisonous spider, according to two conflicting reports. His grandson is the distinguished British actor John Standing.

memsabibs, while the Union Jack fluttered proudly overhead. When — for some extraordinary reason — Hollywood studios began producing pictures extolling the virtues of the British Empire, there in California was a ready-made 'regiment' of experienced British actors serving in the ranks of Central Casting.

Among the films made between 1929 and 1939 which employed a large part of the Hollywood Regiment and featured the Royal Navy, the British Army, the Royal Flying Corps and the Colonial Service were: *The Four Feathers* (Paramount 1929), *The Black Watch* (Fox 1929), *Journey's End* (Tiffany-Gainsborough

1930), *The Eagle and the Hawk* (Paramount 1933), *The Lost Patrol* (RKO 1934), *Clive of India* (20th Century 1934), *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (Paramount 1935), *Mutiny on the Bounty* (MGM 1936), *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (Warner Brothers 1938), *Lloyd's of London* (20th Century Fox 1936), *Another Dawn* (MGM

Right: Ronald Colman (1891-1958) battles Douglas Fairbanks Jr in *The Prisoner of Zenda*. This actor, with his impeccable manners and quiet cultured voice, typified the English gentleman to filmgoers all over the world. Born in Richmond, Surrey, in 1891 he began work as a clerk in a shipping office in 1907. By 1912 he was an accountant, and in his spare time an amateur actor and a private in the Territorial Regiment — The London Scottish. When war broke out he embarked for France and Flanders with his regiment and was severely wounded by shrapnel at Messines on 31 October 1914 in the desperate battle fought on Halloween by the London Scottish to deny German entry into Ypres. With a shattered ankle he began to drag himself through the mud to safety but, graphically recounted by his daughter Juliet Benite Colman, '...he suddenly thought of the imminent possibility of being hit again and found dead with his back to the enemy. That would never do. He turned over and painfully reversed off the field of battle, determinedly facing the Kaiser's troops'.

2148 Private Ronald Charles Colman was invalided out of the army on 6 May 1915, his discharge papers recording that he was 'No longer physically fit for war service'. He began his film career in Hollywood in 1923 playing in silent pictures. His military roles in sound pictures included Robert Clive in *Clive of India* (1935), Sergeant Victor of the French Foreign Legion in *Under Two Flags* (1936), war artist Dick Helder in Kipling's *The Light That Failed* (1939) and Charles Ranier a shell-shocked officer returned from the front in the tearjerker *Random Harvest* (1942). The romantic Ruritanian adventure film *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1937) provided a great deal of work for the Hollywood Regiment and Colman with a classic riposte during a spirited duel with Douglas Fairbanks Jr who demanded to know where he had perfected his swordsmanship, answered — between parry and thrust, in that richly modulated voice — 'Coldstream Guards, my boy!'



Left: Ray Milland (1905-1986) as a Royal Horse Guard. Born Reginald Truscott-Jones in Neath, Wales, this actor gained his place in the Hollywood Regiment by virtue of his service in the Royal Horse Guards (The Blues) in the late 1920s — despite disgracing himself by getting drunk during a rest period while on Royal Escort duty in London, even secreting a flask of brandy in his cuirass! His horse intuitively realised the condition of its rider and decided to play up. Trooper Truscott-Jones dug in his spurs in an attempt to control his mount whereupon it bolted through the Mounted Band, berging the Drum Horse aside. Horse and rider ended up alone in the forecourt of Buckingham Palace where the luckless trooper waited shamefacedly for the rest of the Mounted Escort, and the open coach carrying the Prince of Wales and King Amanullah of Afghanistan, to trot into the forecourt! Reginald Truscott-Jones promptly left the army, went to Hollywood in 1930, changed his name to Ray Milland, and quickly took to American roles. He rarely played Britons, apart from Legionnaire John Geste in *Beau Geste* (1939) a film adapted from the well-known P.C. Wren adventure story of three British brothers in the French Foreign Legion. When you next see Ray Milland galloping hell-for-leather across the screen in a late night TV Western playing a cowboy or US Cavalry officer, remember where he perfected his horsemanship — here in Great Britain with the elite Household Cavalry!

1937), *Wee Willie Winkie* (20th Century Fox 1937), *The Dawn Patrol* (Warner Brothers 1938), *The Sun Never Sets* (Universal 1939) and that perennial favourite of mine — *Gunga Din* (RKO Radio 1939).

British actors who appeared prominently in these films included: Clive

Brook, Sir Guy Standing, Ronald Colman, Basil Rathbone, Victor McLaglen, John Loder, Boris Karlof, Ray Milland, Cary Grant, Patrick Knowles, Brian Aherne, Donald Crisp, Herbert Marshall, David Niven and the redoubtable C Aubrey Smith. Errol Flynn, an Australian but so pukka British to American picturegoers,

was a leading light in the Hollywood Regiment but rarely appeared in the Mess! Douglas Fairbanks Jr, although an American, specialised in playing 'Empire' roles and was dubbed an 'honorary Englishman' years before the Queen bestowed an Honorary Knighthood on him in 1964♦



Left: Victor McLaglen (1886-1959) in *Wee Willie Winkle* with Shirley Temple. Born in Stepney, east London, Victor McLaglen was one of Hollywood's real tough guys. He specialised in playing hard-boiled sergeants with a soft centre. One of a clergyman's eight sons, he ran away from home in 1900 and joined the Life Guards hoping to fight in the Boer War. Although a strapping lad at fourteen, he was considerably under age; his father contacted the War Office and bought him out of the army. Victor McLaglen later emigrated to Canada and became a successful prize-fighter. In Vancouver, in 1909, he fought a six-round 'no decision' bout against the mighty Jack Johnson — newly crowned heavyweight boxing champion of the world. After touring the United States in a Wild West show he worked as a gold prospector in Australia and was in South Africa when the Great War broke out. He immediately returned to Britain, joined the Royal Irish Fusiliers and served in Mesopotamia, eventually becoming Assistant Provost Marshal of Baghdad with the rank of captain. He resumed boxing after the war and started his film career in Britain in 1920, moving to Hollywood four years later.

His first British military role in a 'talkie' was as Captain Donald Gordon King in *The Black Watch* (1929). In *The Lost Patrol* (1934) he played 'The Sergeant' in charge of a troop of British cavalrymen lost in the Mesopotamian desert during the Great War. After being cast as Sergeant McDuff in *Wee Willie Winkle* (1937) and Sergeant MacChesney in *Gunga Din* (1939), he confirmed his position as the Senior NCO of the King's Own Hollywood Regiment. Victor McLaglen won an Oscar for Best Actor in 1935 for his remarkable performance as 'Gypo' Nolan in *The Informer*. He also 'served' in the United States Marine Corps (*What Price Glory*), The French Foreign Legion (*Under Two Flags*), the US Coast Guard (*Sea Devils*) and, as Sergeant Quincannon of the US Cavalry, he appeared in the John Ford trilogy *Fort Apache*, *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* and *Rio Grande*. The most memorable scene in all three pictures, to this cinemagoer, was the sight of Quincannon on leaving the army squeezing into the civilian suit, complete with Billycock hat and cane, that he must have worn when he joined up, and had kept packed away during his entire service!

Right: David Niven (1910-1983) in *Soldiers Three*. Debonair is the only word to describe this prolific British actor. Although too young to serve in the Great War, he was in fact a regular soldier before drifting into acting. He enrolled at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, in 1928 and was commissioned into the Highland Light Infantry. He served in Britain and Malta before suddenly leaving the army, after an amorous liaison with his Commanding Officer's wife, to seek his fortune in Hollywood. One of the junior officers in the Hollywood Regiment, he played Captain Randall in *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1935), Captain Fritz Von Tarnhelm in *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1937), Lieutenant Scott in *Dawn Patrol* (1938) and, without losing his British accent, Lieutenant McCool of the Philippine Constabulary in *The Real Glory* (1939). When the Second World War broke out he involgled a release from his MGM contract and returned to Britain to rejoin the army. He served firstly in the Rifle Brigade; transferred to the newly-raised Commandos, then helped to pioneer the concept of the highly mobile 'Phantom' Reconnaissance Regiment, eventually commanding 'A' Squadron. During his wartime service he was given leave to make two films in Britain; *The First of the Few* (1942) and *The Way Ahead* (1943). David Niven landed in Normandy shortly after D-Day and served with distinction until 1945, leaving the army with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and having been decorated with the American Legion of Merit. He resumed his Hollywood career after the war and starred in many memorable roles, a number of which were military characters such as General Sir Roland Dane in *Enchantment* (1948), Captain Pindenny in *Soldiers Three* (1951), and the pathetic Major Pollock in *Separate Tables* (1958). David Niven was awarded an Oscar for Best Supporting Actor for his performance in that picture.



Below: Errol Flynn (1909-1959) in *The Charge of the Light Brigade*. Without doubt the most charismatic member of the Hollywood Regiment. Tall, handsome, and athletic, he was born in Hobart, Tasmania, on 20 June 1909, and educated in various schools in England and Australia (from most of which he was expelled!) before entering Government service as a cadet in training to be a District Commissioner in New Guinea. That appointment proved boring to the adventurous Flynn, who left to try his luck as a gold miner, a plantation overseer, a schooner captain and a few other occupations best left unscrutinized. After appearing as Fletcher Christian in an Australian film, *In the Wake of the Bounty* (1933), he decided to try acting as a career and moved to England where he joined the Northampton Repertory Company before going to Hollywood on a six-month contract in 1935. His first major part was the title role in the swashbuckling pirate drama *Captain Blood* (1935) which made him a star overnight. His memorable British military roles were Major Geoffrey Vickers of the 27th Lancers (Hollywood Army List) in *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936), Captain Denny Roark, a cavalry officer in a romantic desert story *Another Dawn* (1937), Captain Courtney of the Royal Flying Corps in *Dawn Patrol* (1938), and Flight Lieutenant Terence Forbes, RAF in *Desperate Journey* (1942). Unfortunately, his role as Major Nelson, a

United States Army paratrooper, in *Objective Burma* (1945) caused a great deal of controversy when it was screened in Britain shortly after the war, critics claimed it gave the impression that the campaign in Burma, where thousands of British soldiers had fought and died, was a totally American affair. The film was withdrawn after a week; Errol Flynn, through no fault of his own, being derisively dubbed thereafter as 'The man who captured Burma single-handed'. A true son of The British Empire — born in Australia, tutored in Britain, served in the Hollywood Regiment, and died in, Canada.



Cardigan's Rough Ride

Lord Cardigan, commander of the Charge of the Light Brigade, set the stage for controversy about his leadership abilities before British troops even reached the Crimea. In Bulgaria, he led a long, harsh ride to observe the Russians which left his troops exhausted, on the verge of mutiny, with a hundred horses dead. MAJOR COLIN ROBINS reveals this little known episode in the notorious cavalry commander's career.

In June 1853, Russian troops crossed the River Pruth and invaded the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. Diplomatic efforts could not resolve the dispute, and on 26 September Turkey declared war on Russia. In November, a Russian warship ran aground, was destroyed by the Turks, and 1400 Russian soldiers were drowned. Shortly afterwards, in retaliation, a Russian naval squadron attacked a Turkish fleet at Sinope, and using shell guns for the first time in naval warfare completely destroyed the Turkish ships, with the loss of 2000 Turkish lives. Overlooking the earlier incident, a wave of horror swept through Europe at this 'Massacre of Sinope'. Preparations for war in Britain and France gathered pace, and in February 1854 Allied troops were moved East. On 28 March 1854 Britain declared war on Russia. The Crimean War had begun.

In June 1854, after staging at Scutari opposite Constantinople, the Allies concentrated around the small port of Varna, on the western shore of the Black Sea (in modern Bulgaria) about 180 miles by sea from Constantinople, and 100 miles south-east of Silistria. Varna was a typical Turkish town, dirty, dilapidated and without accommodation for even a few visitors let alone the Allied armies. A temporary camp was established nearby, another at Aladyn, nine miles away, and a third at Devna, eighteen miles inland. The force at the three camps built up to about 30,000 British troops with over 3,000 horses and 60 guns. The French were about 24,000 (without cavalry), 70 guns and 5,000 Turks. Nearby the Turkish troops under Omar Pacha, were fighting the Russians who had now also laid siege to the town of Silistria. Unfortunately, the British army was quite unable to move to help their

Turkish allies.

Transport was one of the responsibilities of the Commissariat, a civilian, Treasury-controlled body, but years of peace had left them understaffed, and untrained for war operations and they were unable to cope, indeed they found the greatest difficulty in supplying food to the camps only eighteen miles from Varna. Omar Pacha actually sent five hundred bullock waggons with drivers from his own resources to assist, but when they arrived there were no arrangements for organising them, the drivers were not regularly paid or fed, and gradually they all ran away. These early difficulties augured ill for the invasion and campaign which were to follow, but the signs were not heeded. As a result, though the Turks desperately needed help, it could not be given and instead there was little for the British and French troops to do - a British officer despondently described the force as 'Army of no occupation'.

However, the Turks advanced, Tsar Nicholas I agreed that Moldavia and Wallachia should be occupied by Austria, and the Russians withdrew. Turkey had also, after a desperate defence by the occupants who resisted all the fierce assaults directed against it for forty-five days, while the vast Allied army remained idle only a few days' march away, raised the siege of Silistria. It was rumoured that the Russian army, 30,000



'The Cardigan Calop' contemporary music sheet dedicated to Lord Cardigan, who led the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava 25 October 1854. (Peter Newark's Military Pictures)

strong under Gortchakoff, were retreating in disorder. But it was not certain whether there were any Russians left on Turkish soil, and if so, just where they were. Were they now planning an attack on Varna?

Meanwhile the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Raglan, was trying to ignore the clash of personalities between Lord Lucan (who as Cavalry Division Commander was in command of both Heavy and Light Brigades), and Lord Cardigan, an old friend of Raglan's family, who commanded the Light Brigade. Initially left at Scutari, Lucan had now moved up to Varna but Raglan had allowed Cardigan to communicate direct with him and this had given Cardigan the impression

that he was not part of Lucan's Cavalry Division. These snubs to Lucan were to cause even more serious problems later, but for the moment Cardigan exulted in his 'independent' command. When Raglan ordered him to take a party of two squadrons on a reconnaissance to find the Russians, he was delighted.

So, on 25th June 1854, the order was given at 4 am for a squadron each of the 8th Royal Irish Hussars and 13th Light Dragoons, with some Turkish lancers, to move under Cardigan north from Varna towards the Danube to reconnoitre the Russian position. They were to scout towards Silistria and as quickly as possible ascertain the movements of the enemy. The squadron of the 8th Hussars consisted of two captains, two subalterns, and 121 dragoons. Eighty men from the 13th made up the contingent. At dawn 'hridle-and-saddle' was sounded by the trumpets of the two squadrons, and shortly afterwards Captain George Lockwood's squadron of the 8th, and two troops of the 13th, under Captains Jenyns and Tremayne, were on parade and waiting for their brigadier, watched by an intrigued group of bystanders from the cavalry camp. They were told to stand down and cook three days' provisions. At 10.30 a.m. they were ready and, accompanied by a commissary-officer, local guides and interpreters, and led by Lord Cardigan in full regimentals, they set off. Fanny Duberly, the wife of Captain Duberly, Paymaster of the 8th Hussars, who has accompanied her husband to the East, witnessed the preparations of the two squadrons and wrote in her journal: 'If it takes six and a half hours to get two squadrons under way, how long will it take to move the whole British Force?'

The patrol was to take no more than could be carried on the horses, and inevitably they were hopelessly over-burdened. In addition to complete marching order as worn in England, which weighed some twenty stone, each horse carried extra ammunition, two blankets, 36 pounds of meat, 3 pounds of biscuit and a keg with 3 pints of water. It was hoped initially that further supplies could be sent after the column, but in the event the rations taken had to suffice for most of the whole period, augmented by very few replenishments and what could be found on the journey.



The little force marched doggedly on from dawn to dusk, in very great heat, across treeless country without roads. As far as they could, they kept to the regulation cavalry pace. At night, except for Cardigan who had a small tent just large enough to cover his bed, they usually bivouacked in the open for most of the few villages they were to encounter had been plundered by Bashi Bazouks (Turkish irregular cavalry) or Cossacks and ruined. The nights were cold and under thick dew men and horses slept side by side upon the ground. At Bazardjik, a large village, now deserted and plundered, a halt was made but the empty house selected as shelter contained a horde of starving cats which were such a nuisance that they had to be beaten off with swords. The next night at Kavarna the arrival of some commissariat mules stampeded the horses and nearly every one in the patrol broke loose from the picket ropes and scattered across country. At daybreak, trumpeters and some men were sent out on the few remaining horses, and by degrees all but a few were recaptured. Captain Tremayne was detached with 50 of the Turks and sent into the Dobrukscha, over the old course of the Danube, on patrol. Away over twenty hours he saw no Russians and met only a few wandering Bashi Bazouks.

As they neared the Danube, Lord Cardigan himself decided to go forward with his staff including Lord Burghersh, and an escort of twenty men under Lieutenant Percy Smith of the 13th Light Dragoons. After a long hard day, the party returned but before they reached the main body, some of the horses gave out, being completely 'knocked up'. Smith got leave to stay with ten exhausted horses and their riders in a nearby ruined village, intending to re-join the main group the next day after a night's rest. Lord Burghersh also joined this party as the troop horse he was riding had also failed. As darkness approached the sound of music was heard and a large body of Bashi Bazouks appeared, unfortunately mistaking the dragoons' uniforms for Russian. Smith and Lord Burghersh went out to speak to them, and were at first seized. Burghersh's British staff uniform was luckily recognised, but there was great difficulty in persuading them that Smith was also British! The next day the party rejoined the main body and continued the march.

They reached the Danube near Trajan's Wall at Rassova where the Danube was a broad, yellow, sluggish stream, five or six hundred yards across. Cossacks could be seen across the river. They paused overnight, enjoying a meal of roast pork after stray pigs had been found wandering among the ruins, and had been despatched much to Cardigan's fury, that cavalry officers should stoop so low as to shoot pigs with pistols. However, he later enjoyed a pork dinner without enquiring too closely as to its origin.

The next day they turned west and rode along the river bank towards Silistria. This was a long heavy march for three days, along the southern bank of the Danube, riding up to fourteen hours a day. They arrived in Silistria in one of the heaviest thunderstorms most could remember, which drenched everyone and brought near darkness so that the pace slowed to a walk and horses stumbled and fell. Silistria was 'a good deal knocked about', and riddled with shot and shell after the Russian siege which had been raised only three days before. The defensive works and the Russian batteries were just as they had been left, with one Russian battery only thirty feet from the defences, which were hardly more than shallow ditches. It was clear that the Turks must have fought like demons. From Silistria the patrol had a

full view of the Russian camp. There were some 40,000 or 50,000 troops encamped and entrenched about two miles the other side of the river. There was a battery only 700 yards away, and in the camp a large park of artillery could be seen, but not many cavalry. A Turkish officer was sent to them under a flag of truce, and the Russian commander, the veteran General Luders, asked if the cavalry he was studying intently through his telescope were French or English. Cardigan's patrol now withdrew south as the Russian force moved off in the opposite direction.

From time to time, Cardigan had sent back reports by selected riders and the first, a young Hussar officer, rode into camp after dinner on 29 June. As the single horseman approached, those waiting in the camp could see his roan horse limping and staggering with head drooping. The rider was covered in white dust and sat limply in the saddle. Horse and man were exhausted and as the rider jumped clear, the horse fell and rolled on to its side with eyes glazed. Anxious friends, including Mrs Duherly, gathered round the rider who had to be revived with brandy before he could report. Mrs Duherly wrote that she knelt beside the roan and gave it, too, a draught of brandy which revived it, as it had done its master. The young officers reported that the patrol would not return for some days and told of their excessive fatigue and great hardship from incessant marches for which neither men nor horses were fit. After the sighting of the Russians, Cardigan sent a further message by the aide-de-campe, Lieutenant Maxse, who rode at full speed to inform Raglan of the situation.

The main body now struggled back via Shumla and Yeni-Bazaar. Five horses were dead, and at least seventy-five more were unridable and were found to be permanently unfit for duty. Many more never recovered. Some of the men were too weak to ride and were carried in a commandeered Turkish araba drawn by bullocks. Another thunderstorm caught them as they travelled through the night, and at last the exhausted and hedragged column reached base at Devna early on 11th July, with some of the dismounted riders driving their horses before them like cattle drovers while others limped beside theirs. They arrived in twos and threes, appearing gradually over the skyline. Some men carried their saddles and harness on their backs. All day the men straggled in, until by sunset all were accounted for. The Brigadier was unlike his normal self, and also presented a rather sorry sight. He strode without a word straight to his tent. They had covered some 330 miles in sixteen days, and had survived on little more than three days' rations. The horses too had been on desperately short rations aggravated by an early alarm at seeing a Cossack patrol at which most riders had cut away their hay nets.

Mrs Duherly recorded in her journal: 'I was riding out in the evening when the

stragglers came in, and a piteous sight it was - men on foot driving and goading their wretched, wretched horses, three or four of which could hardly stir. There seems to have been much unnecessary suffering, a cruel parade of death.' She also notes what Lockwood had told her of an incident during the march when twenty horses were being led with frightful sores on their backs, the men staggering under saddles and kit. Cardigan met a party of French officers, and immediately ordered the men to mount. He had the greatest difficulty in inducing the men to saddle their horses. The poor condition of the men had been drawn to his attention by Assistant Surgeon Somers, who was with the party. Cardigan replied that he felt for the men, but there was no outward manifestation of this feeling.

The results of the reconnaissance were negative but Raglan wrote to Cardigan: 'You have ascertained for me that the Russians have withdrawn and that the country is not only clear of the enemy but is wholly deserted by the inhabitants. These are important facts.'

Inevitably anything involving Cardigan was the subject of controversy, and the reconnaissance was no exception. Cardigan himself recorded: 'We might have come at any moment upon the Russian army; - upon the Russian outposts. We travelled over the country, which I may call a perfectly wild desert, for a distance of 300 miles... and marched 120 miles without ever seeing a human being. There was not a single house in a state of repair or that was inhabited along all this route, nor was there an animal to be seen except those that exist in the wildest regions.'

There were those who thought that Cardigan had led his men well, and that the trip had been necessary and worthwhile. Jenyns of the 13th told a friend that the party had received tremendous praise from Cardigan, and that he was a 'capital fellow to be under at this work'. Others thought that Cardigan had been inept in working the men and their mounts too hard. One wrote: 'they were in poor condition (on their return), both men and horses. The men had started in robust health, but returned mere shadows of their former selves...some of the horses were completely knocked up and had to be shot.'

Lord George Paget, commanding the 4th Light Dragoons, thought no more than eighty of the over two hundred original horses remained fit for further cavalry duties. Lt Col Hodge, commanding the 4th Dragoon Guards in the Heavy Brigade, had earlier written from Varna: 'The loss of a horse here is dreadful. They cannot be replaced.' This made the loss of at least a hundred horses, and perhaps more, hard to bear, and partly accounted for the extremely hostile reaction to the whole affair from Captain Nolan, 15th Hussars, already notorious in the British cavalry for, though a brilliant horseman,

Opposite: Clive Ferrier's painting shows troopers from the 13th Light Dragoons and 8th Hussars. White quilted calico cap covers were in general use, and Vanson's sketches in Bulgaria, show men of the Hussar Regiments with their fur caps in white covers with neck flaps. A General Memorandum issued on 1 June ordered that 'during the hot weather the soldiers will not wear stocks.'

In March 1854 the 13 L.D. were one of four cavalry regiments issued with grey overalls as an experimental measure, and they embarked for the East wearing them. Although the facings of the 13th L.D. were officially described as 'buff', for all practical purposes they were, in fact white.

having served in unfashionable India and having written a book about every aspect of cavalry training and tactics. Nolan was to achieve even more fame later due to his role in carrying the message to Lucan which led to the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava, but at this stage he had been employed in finding and purchasing horses as remounts. His views on Lord Cardigan's wretched management of scarce horseflesh were deeply felt, forcefully expressed, and wildly insubordinate. They were, however, almost certainly justified.

Shortly afterwards, before the landing in the Crimea had even been decided, cholera struck. It was almost certainly brought by French troops from Marseilles where one of the regular pandemics then experienced every few years had arrived from India. Thousands of men in both armies suffered. There seemed to be no way to avoid this terrible disease which struck without warning, apparently at random, often carrying off its victims in a few hours leaving medical services helpless to save the patients and morale plummeted. Thinking that it was caused by 'miasma' rising from damp ground, the Allies moved their camps over and over again, but of course they could not escape it. In this state of sickness and low morale the invasion of Russia began.

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Women in the Frontline

When the ATS was originally raised at the beginning of World War Two, it was not considered that women might need a battledress. But when Hitler's luftwaffe brought the frontline of the war to Britain, then the ATS found itself serving in mixed Anti-Aircraft units. **MARTIN BRAYLEY** reveals the combat dress worn by these women warriors.



At the time of their formation in 1938 it had not been envisaged that the ATS might ever need anything other than their service dress. This was a rather short sighted view, and fortunately one that was not shared by all staff officers, in particular Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Pile KCB, DSO, MC, the GOC-in-C of AA command. It was at his request that experiments were carried out, as early as 1938, to establish the suitability of women for working on AA gun sites. Soon after the outbreak of hostilities women were indeed employed within AA command, but only on limited non-operational tasks.

The introduction of mixed sex Anti Aircraft batteries in 1941, and the large numbers of 'A's' required, highlighted an already serious shortcoming in the ATS kit list, an omission that could only reasonably be filled by a uniform such as that worn by the men of AA command, Battledress (BD). A form of dress

that would also prove indispensable for many other ATS trade groups. Prior to this, and as early as 1939, many small trade groups had regularly required additional non-issue clothing in order to perform their duties, these items were normally 'pooled' and only drawn as and when required. More often than not these items were as issued to male soldiers with the corresponding problems in sizing and fitting.

The first truly operational ATS unit within AA command was an 'experimental' searchlight unit set up in April 1941 and manned entirely by ATS ranks. Their uniforms consisted of male BD worn with black tankers' berets bearing the ATS cap badge. The experiment was a resounding success and the girls proved that they could cope with all of the trials and tribulations associated with manning a lonely and isolated military post. Soon after this 'mixed batteries' were employed by the AA command, their first 'action' being reported in early September 1941. The subsequent rapid expansion of the service and the number of roles it was engaged in led to a dramatic increase in the size and complexity of the ATS wardrobe.

The issue of ATS BD was not restricted exclusively to the service. Many other organisations received quantities of ATS BD, although never sufficient to fulfill all of their requirements these included, amongst others, the Army nursing services, ENSA, UNRRA and the BRC.

Blouse, Battledress, Serge, ATS

As an interim measure, and to provide the ATS with a uniform suitable for use on the harsh environment of an AA site, small sizes of male BD were issued, with, where possible, small sizes of men's ammo boots. As had been foreseen the male BD did not fit at all well, having been tailored for a considerably different form. Where possible garments were altered by unit tailors but this was not a permanent solution to the real problem, the ATS needed a BD uniform designed and fitted for the female figure.

The first specification for ATS BD was issued in September 1941. Tailored in women's sizes (height, bust, waist) it was manufactured in a fine Saxony Serge fabric, softer, lighter, and of a greener shade than the fabric used for male BD. Saxony Serge was chosen as the fabric because it was readily available, already being used for ATS service dress (two other fabrics, similar in nap to Saxony Serge, were accepted as suitable substitutes for the production of ATS uniform items) and not required for male uniform items. All of the available production quotas of heavy khaki serge had been earmarked for production of men's BD for the ever growing numbers being recruited into the army. It is doubtful if authority would have been granted for the re-direction of any of this fabric for use in the production of the ATS BD.

The distorted propeller blade from a Me.410, proudly carried by AA Command Gunner Tom Cooke, the aircraft having been downed by a mixed AA battery whilst raiding London. The smiling ATS are (left to right) Gunner Elsie Hallgarth, Gunner Hilda Bridewell, and Gunner Audrey Henson. Gunner Hallgarth clearly demonstrates the limited sizing range available in ATS garments, in order to achieve the correct length the slacks appear to be somewhat voluminous in the hips. (IWM)



Left: This fine group of ATS Southern Command girls show a good selection of uniform items. Most wear ATS BD blouse and slacks but one wears a male pattern blouse (lined collar) and two wear the ATS leather jerkin. The ATS at front right has fastened the Jerkins' half belt to the front. Note also the ATS boots worn by the ATS at rear right.

Below: Interior of the first pattern 'Blouse, Battledress, Serge, ATS' showing the single pocket, unlined collar with two fastening hooks. Note that early pattern tunics had no central back seam, the panel being made from one piece of fabric.



The ATS BD closely followed the design of its male counterpart the 'Blouse, Battledress, Serge' (often erroneously called the '37 pattern BD' by collectors), being a short waist length jacket with two external pleated breast pockets. It had epaulettes at the shoulders, button wrist fastenings and a short adjustable waistbelt. Like the early production men's BD, the collar was unlined, but as it was intended that it be worn open with a tie there was no requirement for the drill collar lining found on later production male BD blouses. A pair of hooks were provided at the collar, enabling the front of the blouse to be secured up to the neck in inclement weather. The epaulette buttons were of the vegetable ivory revolving shank type, with all others being of gunmetal or brass.

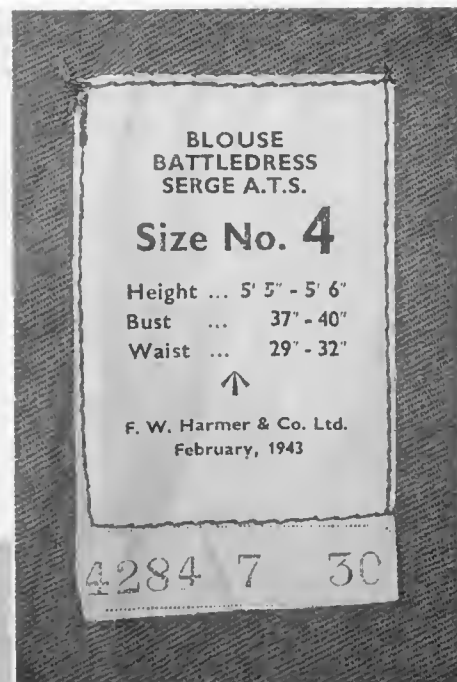
Internally the blouse had a single cotton drill pocket located on the right side (as worn), to which was stitched the manufacturer's size label. At the rear waist was fixed a cotton drill strip with three button holes, this would appear to be superfluous, possibly because the blouse and slacks had been developed independently. On the male BD the buttonholes on the blouse line up with buttons on the trousers, preventing the two parting during movement. To the best of the author's knowledge there were never any matching buttons on the ATS slacks, the elasticated back making them a wholly impractical addition.

Blouse, Battledress, Serge, ATS (Utility Pattern)

As the war progressed, the need to reduce the amount of materials used and the time taken to produce equipment became of paramount importance, none more so than in the

production of clothing. BD was modified in stages, the fly front, pocket flaps and cuffs were replaced by the button through type using plastic buttons. Pocket pleats were deleted and the blouses were cut less full (1940 pattern BD). Additionally, in the case of the ATS BD, the internal pocket was also removed, the label being stitched directly onto the interior (the pocket had seen little use as the female figure did not allow for such a refinement). One of the two collar hooks was deleted and the already superfluous buttonhole strip on the lower rear was removed altogether. The large back panel, originally a single section, was now made from two smaller pieces, allowing for less wastage. The modified tunic was as equally functional as its predecessor, although in appearance it may have been less attractive.

The mix of BD blouse and SD skirt was not authorised until after World War Two, however, it was not an uncommon mix of uniform, particularly within the 21st Army



Above: Interior label of a first pattern ATS BD blouse. It shows female size and fitting range in Height, Bust and Waist, also the manufacturer and year of fabrication.

Group in Europe. ATS brass titles were also occasionally worn on the blouse, although the practice was by no means common.

Slacks, ATS

The service dress skirt was far from suitable for many of the active employments entrusted to the ATS. As with the BD blouse this shortcoming was temporarily remedied by the issue of men's BD trousers which were even poorer fitting than the blouse. The solution to the problem came in the form of the SLACKS, ATS, a generously cut item fastening on the left hip with four buttons and having an elasticated waist. As with male BD the size label was placed on the outside, rear left, of the slacks. This label was often removed as, apart from looking unattractive, it displayed the wearer's intimate sizing details to all who cared to look, few females being willing to share such classified information!

The slacks were also modified under the utility regulations, but the design certainly benefited from these changes. The side buttons were reduced from four to three and most importantly button tabs were added to the lower leg cuff. These had been deleted from men's trousers in 1941 so it is surprising that they were then allowed to be added to the ATS slacks, although they were certainly useful when wearing anklets and short ankle boots. The label was also moved to the inside pocket, negating any requirement for it to be removed.

continued on page 28



Left: Spring 1941. This 'Member' is serving with the 5th AA division, responsible for providing AA cover to the strategically important coastal ports of Southampton and Portsmouth, the divisional insignia of a 'Flaming Dornier' is worn on both sleeves. She is wearing male pattern BD in the form of an early pattern 'Blouse, Battledress, Serge', 'Trousers, Battledress, Serge', small size mens boots and web anklets. Because of the exposed and dangerous nature of AA sites the MkII helmet was an essential accessory.

Below: Rear view showing the unique method of wearing the respirator which was adopted by many AA numbers, particularly predictor operators. For such trade groups, the chest position of wear was impractical as the haversack tended to snag on the equipment being used.



Below: Blouse, Battledress, Serge, ATS, manufactured from Saxony Serge this blouse was a copy of the men's 'Blouse, Battledress, Serge' but cut for the female figure. It is worn with the 'Socks, ATS' by an ATS Sergeant of AA command. As protection from the cold, she is wearing issue gloves, a 'Comforts Committee' wool scarf, and carrying a first pattern 'Jerkin, Leather, ATS'.

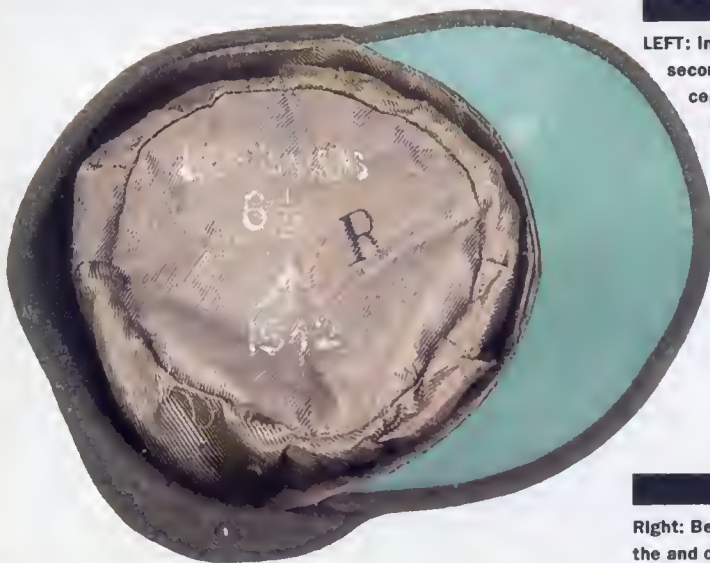


Right: Detail of insignia. The ATS printed slip on title is worn on the epaulette with the Royal Artillery white lanyard. This lanyard was worn with pride by all ATS ranks attached to the RA in operational roles. The black bow and arrow on a red background is the insignia of AA command, below this is the gun badge (worn by all RA Sergeants and Staff Sergeants but only worn by ATS ranks when serving with the RA) and sergeants chevrons. The cap is the second pattern with stiffened peak and side curtain.



Above: During the warmth of the summer months, shirt sleeve order was often the dress of the day. The shirt shown here was the pattern originally issued to all ATS members, it was replaced in 1941 by the smarter collar detached version, with this type then being relegated to use as a work shirt. The poorly fitting trousers are supported by an '03' pattern utility belt. The cap is the original stitched peak version which was the originator of the term 'Floppy Top'.





LEFT: Interior view of the second pattern of ATS cap showing the stiffened peak and typical lining fabric bearing size, date and manufacturer.



Above: 'Jersey, Woollen, ATS.' Designated for issue to all ATS ranks it was often replaced by the similar but lighter shade of pullover issued to male ranks. The V neck allowed for wear beneath BD and SD uniforms.

Right: An ATS Provost Sergeant serving with Montgomery's Headquarters 21st army group. Although it was specifically forbidden to mix SD and BD uniform the wearing of the SD skirt with BD blouse was not an uncommon sight, particularly with ranks serving in higher echelon units in Europe.

Right: Belgium, 1945. Nearing the end of hostilities these two 'ATS' are enjoying a rest in the Belgian capital.

Brussels was a major 'short leave' location for British troops in Europe, having many facilities geared specifically for the short term needs of servicemen and women. Both girls are wearing the utility pattern BD blouse, with its exposed buttons and single collar hook, and the second pattern slacks with ankle tabs. The girl at left wears the RA gun badge, this was worn on the left breast by all ATS Kine Theodolite operators as a trade distinction, whilst at right the 'H' on this girl's lower sleeve denotes a qualified Height Taker. Wearing of the hair over the collar was expressly forbidden, although often as not regulations came second to current fashion with very few units enforcing this ruling.



Above: Provost ranks wore the distinctive 'Red Cap' as issued to male MPs. The cap, MP brassard, whistle chain, and Provost title cartainly made their uniform distinctive and highly visible. Again almost unique to higher formations, this sergeant is wearing brass ATS titles on the BD epaulettes.

Slacks were procured independently of, and issued some months prior to, the ATS BD blouse, they also received a much wider distribution, often being worn with the service dress jacket by MT drivers amongst others. It is believed that the initial production of ATS slacks were made from normal SD Serge as used in the manufacture of male BD.

Period photographs of nurses serving in France with the 21st army Group show some sisters wearing what appear to be ATS slacks with an additional map pocket on the thigh. The lack of surviving examples and documentation would suggest that this was a private modification of the issue slacks.

Sizing

Whilst male pattern BD did not fit the female figure at all well the limited size range available in ATS garments was not without its problems. Male BD blouses were available in a staggering range of twenty two sizes, but whilst it had been planned to adopt twenty sizes of ATS blouse only six were actually accepted for issue. It can safely be said that the female form allows for a far greater degree of sizing range than that of the male, the limited sizes adopted were purely an austerity measure although such a small range was undoubtedly over austere.

The limited size range meant that unless you fitted into the accepted 'Norm' you were unlikely to get BD to fit. Tall and thin ATs found that to obtain garments of sufficient length the waist was generally too large, whilst short and buxom ATs found that to fit over the chest the length was undoubtedly excessive.

Boots, Leather, ATS & Anklets, ATS

Not surprisingly the ATS shoe was unsuitable for many tasks, drivers, gunners, and many others requiring something far more substantial. This requirement was fulfilled by the ATS hoot, a high calf length boot with toe cap. It had a metal heelplate and with the exception of drivers, a fully studded sole. The high boot was wasteful of leather and as a utility measure it was eventually reduced in height from 11 to 8 eyelets for those boots manufactured from 1943 onward, by 1945 the ankle boot had entirely superseded the high leg boot.

Initial issue of anklets to the ATS had been the webbing 37 pattern. Unfortunately all available web stocks were required to kit out the army, because of this a utility version was introduced in 1942. They were made from grained russet colour leather, as used on the hoots, and were secured by a single strap and twin lace arrangement•

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Richard Ingram for his help and encouragement with the preparation of this article.



Left: The end of the war in Europe left many ATS girls welcoming the thought of returning home, but for others a yearning for the excitement of military life left them searching for new challenges. For some girls this challenge was met by service in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Formed in November 1943, UNRRA provide assistance to countries and peoples devastated by the war. Uniform worn was generally that of the mission to which the worker was attached for service (In Europe the American, British, Canadian and Russian missions) and generally consisted of ex-military uniform with distinctive UNRRA badges, many ex-military ranks continuing to wear their old issue uniforms. Although UNRRA was a non military civil aid organisation the appearance of its workers in the immediate postwar period was certainly very militaristic. To some

degree this probably assisted in the accomplishment of the task in hand, uniformed personnel tending to be regarded as being in authority.



Left: 'Anklets ATS', and 'Boots, Ankle, ATS'. Both made from the same russet colour stippled leather these designs were unique to the ATS. For normal wear the soles are fully studded but for some trade groups such as MT drivers the studs were omitted for reasons of safety.

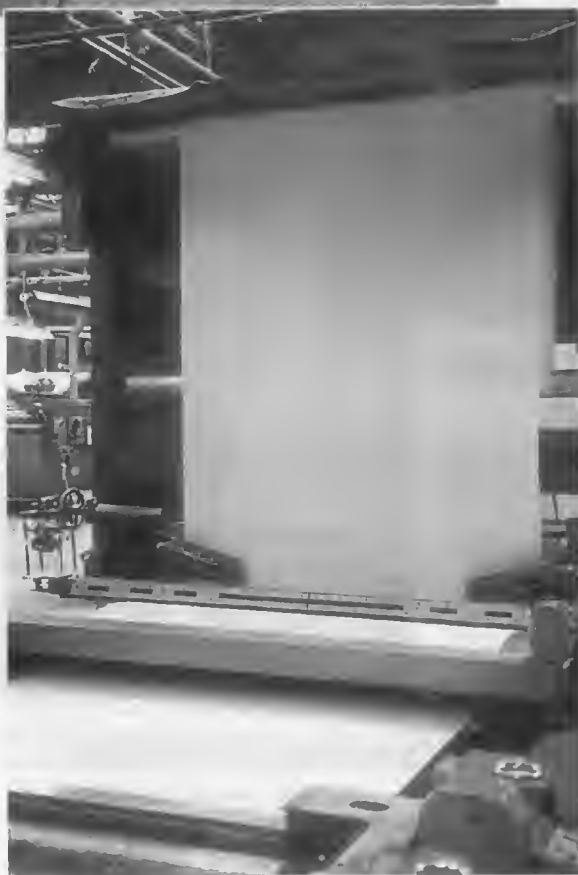


Left: ATS gunners tracking a daylight raider. The side button arrangement of the slacks is clearly discernible on the centre ATS. (P G Hennell).



Camouflage is now fashionable streetwear. Here, US woodland pattern is worn.

Plain fabric being fed into the printing machine.



Making Camouflage

At the end of the 20th century, camouflage pattern fabric has become the universal material of soldiers' uniforms. TIM NEWARK visits Strines Textiles, one of the leading producers of camouflage fabric in the world, to see how it is made.

Today, camouflage fabric is the main material of military uniforms and Strines Textiles is one of its leading producers. For two hundred years, Strines has been located in the same part of Cheshire, near Stockport, where a lake provides all the water it

needs for the process of dyeing. Each year, it produces some two million metres of camouflage fabric, most of it for the British Army, but also for several other countries, including the armies of Belgium, Germany, Australia, U.S.A., Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark, Kuwait, France, Thailand, Malaysia, and South Africa. The process of creating camouflage fabric begins with the receipt of plain fabric from suppliers. For Ministry of Defence contracts, each roll of fabric is stamped with a

number so that each stage of manufacture can be traced in order to maintain quality control. The plain fabric is sewn together to form a belt of material and is cleaned to remove any size from the cloth. If the fabric is synthetic, it is heated to stabilise it at the required width.

The standard pattern for British Disruptive Pattern Material is received from the Ministry of Defence as a sealed sample of one square metre, just as sealed samples have been supplied for two hundred years to all uniform contractors. The different motif layers of the camouflage pattern are separated and traced onto celluloid film. This film is then wrapped around a lacquer-coated rotary screen of 100% nickel imported from Holland. The pattern can be scanned directly on to the screens with a laser, but at Strines the process is carried out by ultra-violet light exposure which penetrates the clear parts of the celluloid film, leaving the motif covered parts of the lacquer untouched. Rotary screens now bearing each motif layer of the pattern are ready to be fitted to the print machine. In the meantime, dyes are mixed in the colour shop according to a computerised recipe based on the Ministry of Defence standard. Various weights of colour are added, as well as penetrating and thickening agents. Carbon black is added for its infrared qualities. Acid colours are used for nylon, Disperse colours for polyester, Vat colours for cotton, and Basic colours for acrylic.

Plain fabric is fed into the print machine on a print blanket. Five rollers are used on the machine. The first roller has a sticky surface which picks up any fluff or pieces of dirt that have contaminated the fabric. The other four rollers are the four rotary screens, each printing one motif layer of the final camouflage pattern. The four camouflage dyes — green, khaki, brown, and black — are poured into each of the rotary screens. Once the pattern has been printed on the fabric, it passes

through a drying oven. Out of the print machine, the fabric is moved to a steaming machine. Here, steam heat sets off a chemical reaction which fixes the dyes in the fabric. A washer machine removes any unfixed dye and the fabric is dried. Finally, a stenter machine stretches the fabric to its required width.

To meet the high requirements of the Ministry of Defence, the printed fabric is thoroughly inspected and tested in a laboratory to ensure it possesses all its required qualities. A certificate is issued at the end of the process. Such meticulous concern for its performance means camouflage fabric does not come cheap and costs considerably more than printed fabric for the fashion industry. Any camouflage fabric used for fashion clothes has usually been produced to a far lower standard. The British DPM pattern is not copyrighted, whereas most other major patterns, such as those used by the U.S. and German armies, are protected and their nations retain the legal powers to intervene if they feel the camouflage pattern is being misused.

This article is an extract from *Brassey's Book of Uniforms* by Tim Newark, recently published by Brassey's at £25.00.



Above: Buckets of green and khaki dyes waiting to be placed inside the rotary screens of the printing machine to produce camouflage material.



Below: The removal of a faulty rotary screen on the printing machine provides an opportunity to see the camouflage pattern being built up from several layers of shapes and colours.



Above: Gaps between the rotary screens on the printing machine reveal the camouflage fabric freshly printed.



Left: British Disruptive Pattern camouflage motifs traced onto celluloid films which are then wrapped around nickel rotary screens and exposed to ultra-violet light. This light reacts with the light sensitive lacquer on the screens to create patterns ready for printing.

Fast Knights

ARTHUR HARMAN has a quest. As a leading wargamer and writer of the Napoleonic period, he is deeply unsatisfied with current wargaming rules. He explains his search for reality to ROBERT NOTT.

Since appearing on the Channel 4 production *Game of War*, Arthur Harman has further come to recognise the difficulties inherent in 'managing' a wargame not just for the audience, but also to those who are actively participating. As Head of History and Mathematics at The Hampshire school, Arthur has a wealth of experience in explaining new concepts and ideas to those who have not encountered them before, but even so found the difficulties of running an Historical wargame for modern generals a daunting challenge. The most difficult aspect for Arthur, and for Paddy Griffith and Iain Dickie was trying to explain the concepts of a

tabletop wargame, especially one from an historical setting to modern trained senior officers who are used to completely different parameters. Arthur remembers one occasion particularly vividly: 'At one point in the Waterloo game, Sir Anthony Farrar Hockley tried to call up Grouchy on the radio. It was a completely understandable slip but illustrated the difficulty we had — these were experienced generals trying to operate in an alien environment. It was impossible to assume that they could "forget" all their experience or filter out parts that were not relevant to the historical setting'. This is not to say that the exercise had little value. In addition to the actual scenario that appeared in the program, the generals also played out one of the other battles as a practice to get used to the format and game mechanics. Arthur remembers in particular the Crimean setting. 'In both the actual practice games for Balaklava, the Duke of Cambridge was sacked by the commanding general for being too slow. This shows a similarity of thought process and tolerance between the modern generals but also illustrates the distance between the 20th century commander and his historical counterpart. Lord Raglan would never have removed him from command because of the inherent class distinctions of the time, and not least because the Duke of Cambridge was a member of the Royal family. In any case the mechanics of removing a divisional commander from his position just as you are about to take the field of battle was far more difficult in the 19th century and would have caused chaos and probably operational disaster'.

In his professional career, Arthur laments the lack of history present on the school curriculum but admits that other disciplines are probably more important. 'In the world we live in there has to be a great deal of emphasis on the practical skills which young people need to get on in the world. To be

brutally honest one doesn't need a great deal of historical knowledge to survive in the modern world.' Nevertheless, Arthur is adamant that an early exposure to history should be more important and can give a far more appreciative view of the world. 'When I was five or six my father used to sit with me and show me these little black and white pictures of Kuala Lumpur when he was serving with REME during the Communist insurrection in Malaya. It fascinated me and inspired my imagination'. The other major inspiration for Arthur was a well known literary character famed for his daring aerial adventures, the ever heroic Biggles. 'After reading these I naturally conceived a dream of being a fighter pilot! Unfortunately my eyesight was such that I wore glasses from the age of seven, and so I came to realise that I would never fly an aeroplane. This climactic end of a dream turned my interest towards the fascinating period of the Napoleonic wars where little people, I'm only five feet four, who were physical cripples became brilliant soldiers and Admirals like Lord Nelson. I had also read a lot of *Hornblower* and this further drove me to investigate the black powder era'.

After reading several books by Donald Featherstone, Arthur began to get involved in tabletop wargaming and at University became interested in re-enactment, with the *Sabre Society*, which then became the *The Napoleonic Association*. This hands-on approach and the personal experience of firing black powder muskets led Arthur to his passion for historical memoirs from the period. 'I had already read *Rifleman Harris* and started collecting as many memoirs from the Peninsular War as I could, even to the extent of selling my Law textbooks to obtain them!' The inspiring nature of the period together with Arthur's belief that history should be available to all and especially the young, led him to put on games at the National Army Museum with others designed for children of school age. 'The Army Museum used to run a summer fortnight largely aimed at youngsters where there were talks and re-enactors and we used to run some wargames in the library. I used to



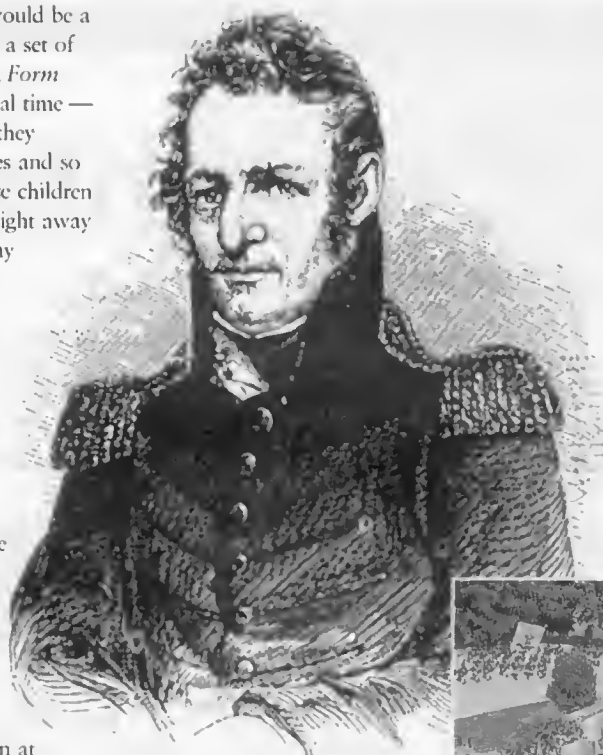
Through his wargaming experiences, Arthur Harman believes that wargames have developed along the wrong lines. He is more concerned with reliving the experience of command than with the over complication of game mechanics. By using such systems as the Prussian *Kriegsspiel*, Arthur believes a more realistic and enjoyable game can be achieved.

do tactical games where each child would be a battalion commander and would use a set of flash cards with orders like *Advance*, *Form Square* and *Fire*. It was all done in real time — if a child ordered *Form Square* then they couldn't talk for the next two minutes and so on. What was amazing was that these children of about nine or ten picked it up straight away and got the idea of anticipating enemy moves. We were very careful to demonstrate the true nature of war however. Every time that casualties were caused I would put some mangled figures representing the dead amongst the still active troops. At the end of the fighting I would always make sure they understood that although their men had advanced from point A to point B the path between them was always littered with large numbers of figures representing the dead and wounded'.

Wrong rules

The simple games that Arthur put on at the Army Museum illustrated to him a principle that has stayed with him ever since, that wargame rules have developed in completely the wrong direction. 'The rule writers have had completely the wrong perspective, that the player was like a god looking down from on high, manoeuvring things, having total vision of what was going on and total knowledge of the troops under command. One could argue about the historicity of the rules in some way, although I wouldn't question parameters such as casualty rates and movement rates, as I'm sure that these have been meticulously researched and are as accurate a mathematical model as one can create of something so violent and unpredictable as a battle'. This dissatisfaction with the over complex and false perspective of the tabletop game has led Arthur to investigate a more 'theatrical' approach. 'I wanted something that obeyed the dramatic unities of time, place and perspective. You have to see things from a particular person's viewpoint and you would only be able to do what that person could have done, with all the restraints that were placed upon them.' Even the development of systems such as DBA and DBM still fall short of Arthur's ideals as they are based on the more conventional rules systems. They do serve, however, to create a more playable game as opposed to some of the previous systems which were far more complex and over-detailed. 'They have just about made a playable game out of the traditional game; a game can be played in a reasonable time and can be enjoyed without mentally straining the players. However that is still not what I want as the perspective is still wrong.'

The watershed for Arthur came in the form of a translation from the original German of the Prussian Kriegsspiel into



Left: General van Renselaer. It was a bold attempt at Queenston that failed due to the unreliability of Renselaer's reinforcements and support. The ingenuity and quick thinking displayed by the American forces at Queenston boded ill for the British forces serving on the Niagara frontier.

English by Bill Leeson. This set of rules was written in the nineteenth century for the military training of officers by Lieutenant von Reissnitz of the Prussian Artillery and utilised coloured blocks rather than model soldiers. The main difference is that Kriegsspiel uses an umpire to perform the calculations, leaving the players to issue orders via order pads in as near to real time as possible. For Arthur this is what wargaming is all about. 'If you want to ride over to that hill and observe the enemy you just inform the Umpire who tells you it will take three minutes. In three minutes time he comes back to you and gives you the information that you gain from your observation. This style of gaming represents the reality in the way that I want it to, the tension and the atmosphere! You can fight big battles, you can fight grand tactical manoeuvres, you don't have to tax your mind with a huge rulebook and you can do it in more or less real time'. If this system sounds familiar it is probably because it was the basis for the system used by Arthur, Paddy Griffith and Iain Dickie for the *Game of War* series, with a central map table and two 'general cells' to which messages and orders went back and forth.

War of 1812

Arthur's fascination for the Napoleonic period initially manifested itself as an interest in the Peninsula War and the Hundred Days. However several of the memoirs from the period were written by soldiers who also served in the lesser explored Napoleonic campaign, the war of 1812 on the American

Below: American troops on the attack. The quality of the American regulars was greatly underestimated by the British at the start of the campaign. Whilst the inadequacies of the American militia system became self-evident, this could be fixed whilst the ferocity and passion with which the American troops fought began high and increased during the campaign. (Richard Eillis)



continent. 'It was wargaming that geared me towards the war of 1812. This period had a lot going for it in terms of wargaming as not many people knew about it and so would not know any of the scenarios. Particularly along the Niagara frontier you have got everything — set-piece encounter battles, sieges of miniature eighteenth century style fortresses, amphibious actions and guerrilla fighting all on a manageable scale. It has parallels to wargaming too, because most of the commanders on both sides were amateurs who had never before heard a shot fired in anger!' The war had started on 18th June 1812, (three years to the day before the battle of Waterloo) due to increasing tensions caused by two issues, the British right of search over neutral vessels on the high seas suspected of transporting strategic materials to France, and the growing American ambitions towards British-held Canada, particularly the Great Lakes and the St Lawrence river. The first American attempt was driven back and led to the loss of Fort Dearborn and the surrender of General Hull's 2500 militia to Brock's 700 Canadian troops and 800 Indian allies. Undeterred, another American General, van Renselaer, attempted a crossing of the Niagara river at the village of Queenston on 15th October.

Queenston Heights

The British forces were under the command of Major-General Brock, a charismatic leader especially beloved by his regular troops of the 49th Foot. In addition to his 600 regulars, Brock also had 400 Canadian militia under his command and two gun emplacements, an 18 pounder on Queenston Heights overlooking the American crossing point and a larger 24 pounder at Vrooman's Point about 1500 yards away towards Fort George. The American forces under van Renselaer consisted of 900 regulars and 2270 militia, but their biggest problem was a lack of reliable boatmen and only thirteen boats each of which could carry only twenty-five men. After the first wave, at least three of the boats were lost and so the amphibious capacity of the American forces was not really sufficient for the task. The first wave of 300 regulars crossed the river but were pinned down at the edge of Queenston village by Captain Dennis commanding the Grenadier company of the 49th Foot, Captain William's light company, two hundred militia and a couple of light guns. The Americans were also coming under fire from the battery on the heights and from the 24 pounder at Vrooman's Point. The situation was deteriorating when the first dramatic change of fortune occurred as Arthur recounts: 'An American subaltern had heard a rumour of a path that led up the cliff and onto the heights and so he led a detachment of the 13th US Infantry and some volunteers up the path. I've actually been there and it is about 300 feet high, very steep and covered in trees and undergrowth — a very hard climb. They emerged on the heights

behind the battery and behind General Brock who had arrived from Fort George. Brock had even detached some of the men from the battery down to the village to help Captain Dennis and so is confounded to see over a hundred Americans rushing down on him!'

The only option available to Brock and the gun crew was to spike the gun and rush down to the village and join the troops in Queenston, abandoning the heights to the Americans. Unfortunately Brock was somewhat impetuous, and despite being aware that reinforcements were on their way from Fort George and Fort Eyrie, was determined to retake the heights before more Americans made their way up the steep path. In Brock's defence he was also aware that any British reverse would look very bad to the Canadians who were not seen as reliable and so Brock ordered part of the 49th along with the most reliable Canadian unit, the York Volunteers, to retake the hill. Sufficient Americans had reached the hill to lay down enough fire to hold off the British. After the first attack recoiled, Brock himself then attempted to lead the charge and was shot and killed, to be followed by Macdonell, his aide, who also was shot down. By this time Captain Dennis has also been wounded and casualties were beginning to mount up in Queenston. The battle then began to turn with the arrival of a relief force commanded by Brock's second-in-command, Roger Sheaffe, an officer who Arthur thinks was of a totally different character. 'Sheaffe had been born in the American colonies and had none of the charisma that Brock had possessed. He was not loved by his men and had recently survived a

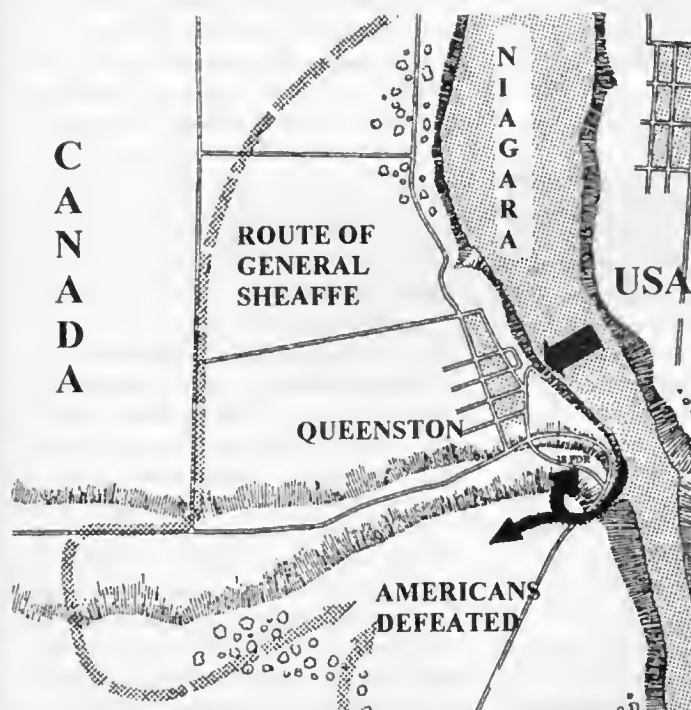
virtual mutiny against him in Fort George. He was a cautious and canny commander and with hindsight, perhaps because Brock had failed with his attempt, took what we deem to be the right action'.

Sheaffe avoided the village and

marched right around the rear of Queenston heights and then deployed his men. He then advanced against the rear of the Americans and pushed them back towards the cliff edge making the American position untenable. Unfortunately for van Renselaer's men, the boatmen had since departed and with the growing shouts of Shaeffe's Indian contingent getting louder, the American militia who were still waiting on the far side of the river decided that their constitutional position entitled them to refuse to serve in a foreign country, and as such they would not cross the Niagara River. In Arthur's opinion the battle was virtually over. 'With no reinforcements, and after fighting for hours with dwindling ammunition and the shouts of the Indians causing near panic, van Renselaer gave the order for his men to save what they could. But with no boats to retreat to, the Americans were driven almost over the cliff when Winfield Scott borrowed a white neckerchief from one of the officers and held it on his sword and offered to surrender. Fortunately for Scott some British officers stopped the Indians from getting to him first and the American contingent surrendered and the fighting ended'.

Real soldiers' battles

The defeat of the American forces at Queenston Heights highlighted the deficiency in the American militia system and discouraged another attempt to invade Canada across the Niagara for almost two years. What it does show, especially for wargame purposes is to illustrate a real soldiers battle. 'It is ideal for wargaming because you have got small forces, and individual named characters who have their own little commands that actually do individual things and not just make up a part of one amorphous battle'. This is central to Arthur's drive towards a more personal wargame which can be played easily, in real time and without the godlike omnipotence that most wargames seem to allow and that most wargamers condone, if not actually enjoy•



Right: General Shaeffe's relief force marches swiftly to the defence of Queenston. Shaeffe wisely chose a flanking move which meant he could face the Americans on his own terms, and drive them back into the Niagara. (Richard Ellis)



Napoleon's Scapegoat

In the first of a series on great military scapegoats, RICHARD BROOKS shows how Marshal Ney — the bravest of the brave — was sacrificed on the altar of Napoleon's reputation.

Large organisations notoriously mark the final stages of major projects by a search for the guilty, punishment of the innocent, and promotion for the non-involved. Military organisations are no exception. Indeed, they are particularly prone to witch hunts pursued with a ferocity bordering on the irrational. Officers previously noted for their energy are inexplicably overcome by inertia, trusted subordinates prove negligent traitors, while men of the highest military education stand accused of folly and ignorance. Such characterisation in a novel would be downright incredible, but accounts of campaigns and battles are littered with such inconsistencies. They can only be resolved by recognising their origin in some deep-seated compulsion that overrides common sense: the need to find a scapegoat, regardless of the evidence. How are such figures chosen? Why does the scapegoat process have such remarkable power? Why do its effects long outlast their original political or institutional cause?

Military history by its very nature damages people's reputations. The simplistic attribution of victory and defeat encourages the facile assignment of praise or blame, perhaps to bolster the standing of a Great Commander, or to fuel denunciation of a Bungler, depending on which version of the Great Man theory of history you prefer. Such personalised accounts of historical events are, however, unsatisfactory. Military operations are complex affairs, characterised by friction, human error and the role of chance. Their result depends on a confusing variety of factors, which is why it is usually easier to find someone to blame when wars go wrong than to look for the real causes of defeat. In any case, these may be concealed to protect the guilty, or to preserve morale. Thus it is preferable to ascribe the unsatisfactory result of Jutland to the errors of Admiral Jellicoe, then admit serious structural weaknesses in a hallowed national institution like the Royal Navy.

Military men are particularly vulnerable to such victimisation. Their technical expertise, like that of other professionals, is easily misunderstood by those caught up in the painful consequences of their decisions, whether these be legal judgements, extracted teeth, or the First Day of the Somme. Unlike other professions, armed forces find it difficult to defend themselves. Naturally contemptuous of political wheeling and dealing, soldiers have historically tended to be inarticulate; inhibited by a constitutionally ingrained loyalty. Military hierarchies are often divided by feuds, as between the Wolseley and Roberts Rings of the Victorian Army, or Easterners and Westerners in the American Civil War. These cliques exacerbate an unforgiving black and white view of the world to swell the chorus of condemnation for the unsuccessful, or the unlucky.

There is more to the problem of military scapegoats, however, than the intellectual laziness of historians, or the social structure of the military. The ferocity and persistence with which failed commanders are denounced suggest a more pathological basis for their condemnation. It would be easier to rehabilitate Stalin than a mild old gentleman like Lord Raglan, let alone clear away the mythology around a figure like Marshal Ney. Even his hair colour and place of birth are routinely misrepresented: although frequently described as a red headed Gascon, Ney had brown hair, and was born at Saarlouis in modern Germany¹. To understand why historians fly so obstinately in the face of facts, we must look more closely at the concept of scapegoat.

The dictionary definition is a person or object blamed for the actions of others, the origin of the term being the unfortunate goat thrown off a cliff to expiate the sins of the Children of Israel. Social psychologists have added some useful qualifications to the idea, which help explain why military history

should be so particularly rich in examples. Scapegoats allow social groups to vent anger or fear that would otherwise threaten their cohesion. War is above all characterised by such emotions, and places a premium on group solidarity. Scapegoats provide a more accessible target for frustration than the enemy, who is remote and probably undefeated. The human cost of military action may inspire guilt in policy makers or voters unwilling to accept responsibility for their strategic choices. A scapegoat allows them to displace their guilt onto someone more directly responsible for the conduct of operations, a psychological strategy that reflects the idea's religious origins. There can be good political reasons for finding a scapegoat. It may be necessary to preserve a national myth, like the genius of Napoleon after Waterloo, but Napoleon's reaction to the battle was also driven by powerful psychological forces. He had never been so sure of victory, and was bewildered by his defeat. Someone else had to be at fault: Grouchy, Ney or d'Erlon. If only Lannes or Mortier had been there!

Marshal Ney is a classic example of a military scapegoat. He fulfilled a vital psychological need at a time of national trauma, partly as a focus for blame, partly as a substitute for a national icon. Remarkably Ney was victimised by both sides of the French political scene. The Bonapartists blamed him for defeats at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, inconsistently condemning his slow advance in the one case and his reckless cavalry attacks in the other. The Bourbons for their part were anxious to find a reason for their sudden eviction from power during the Hundred Days, other than their own hopeless unpopularity. Ney's failure to bring Napoleon back to Paris in an iron cage made him the perfect target. Once dead, Ney fulfilled the most important criterion of the scapegoat; he could not answer back, allowing Napoleon at St Helena to sow a



Left: Marshal Ney. The frontispiece of Ségur's *History of the Expedition to Russia*, of which Ney is the true hero.

Below: The Emperor Napoleon. Napoleon never forgave Ney for forcing him to abdicate in 1814. His subsequent disparagement of Ney still colours modern evaluations of the Marshal's abilities.



trail of deception still followed by historians today. One constantly sees clichéd references to Ney's impetuosity or dim-witted gallantry, usually larded with allusions to the Marshal's imaginary red hair, as if the outside of a man's head determines what goes on inside. However, Ney's steadfast conduct of the French rearguard in 1812 contrasts strikingly with Napoleon's desertion of the Grande Armée, while the Marshal's sponsorship of Jomini, the Swiss tactical expert, suggests there was more to le brave des braves than a simple beau sabreur.

Michael Ney had indeed been a hussar, with his share of duels and dashing exploits in the early days of the Revolutionary Wars. However, he particularly distinguished himself in infantry actions: Winterthur (1799), where he was first hailed as, 'Le Rougeaud'; Hohenlinden (1800); or Haslach (1805) where a single division prevented the escape of a whole army. As a Corps commander from 1804, Ney was responsible for three divisions of infantry, some 15,000 bayonets, and a cavalry brigade of 1,200 sabres. Such a force had its own artillery, and could fight unsupported for a day. It was overwhelmingly an infantry command. Ney was unusual among Napoleon's Marshals, for he came from the old Revolutionary Army of the Rhine, suggesting that, unlike his old comrades, he must have had some special quality to join the favoured circle who had fought with Napoleon in Italy or Egypt.

Ney contributed to a string of French victories from 1805 to 1808: Ulm, Jena, Eylau and Friedland. Napoleon lamented his absence from Austerlitz: 'if only I had my Ney here now. He would soon give these ruffians a drubbing'. Friedland in 1808 was

the pinnacle of Ney's battlefield career, his VI Corps setting the pace for the whole French attack. His ADC saw the red faced Marshal as, 'the God of War incarnate', while Napoleon described him as a lion. Berthier, the Imperial Chief of Staff, wrote of Ney's brilliant courage, 'equalled only in the Age of Chivalry. It is to him that we owe so much on this memorable day'. Ney's success was not simply based on his energy on the battlefield. He had trained VI Corps to be ready for anything, never asking the soldiers to do anything he would not do himself. Everything was done at the double, even impressing the sceptical Murat. Concerned for their welfare, Ney had the soldiers build kitchens and laundries, and a school where his officers studied the art of war. A key figure in this was Jomini, one of the great interpreters of Napoleon's system of war. Alone among the Marshals, Ney encouraged Jomini, advancing him money to publish his early work.

When the Spanish revolted against Napoleon's interference in their affairs, VI Corps were among the first reinforcements: 'I have sent the Spaniards sheep whom they have devoured; I shall send them wolves who will devour them in their turn'. The Emperor wrote of Ney in glowing terms: 'He is a

courageous man, zealous, and whole hearted. If you get used to him, he might be the very man to take command of the army". Like others afflicted with the Spanish Ulcer, Ney's achievements in the Peninsular were mediocre. However, he defied his stereotype by advising against a frontal attack on Wellington's rearguard position at Busaco, and leading a skilful withdrawal from the lines of Torres Vedras in the spring of 1811. The avaricious Masséna sacked Ney for insubordination just before the battle of Fuentes de Onoro (May 1811). Charles Parquin commented: 'Unfortunately for the

army Marshal Ney was no longer there. A difference with the Prince of Essling had deprived us of his talents'.

Unlike Masséna, Ney's reputation survived his Peninsular entanglement, allowing him to reappear in the Grande Armée of 1812 at the spearhead of Napoleon's drive into Russia. He played his part at Borodino, where Napoleon's refusal to commit his reserves foreshadowed a similar moment of imperial indecision at Waterloo.

However, Ney won immortal renown in the Retreat from Moscow, where even the iron willed Davout could not sustain the post of honour at the rear of the army. Ney, sensing that there had to be a sacrificial victim to save the others, accepted that role without hesitation. Musket in hand he exposed his life daily, but while he fought like a common soldier he remained a general, taking advantage of the ground, resting upon a height, or covering his men behind a palisaded house. When the remains of his corps were surrounded near Smolensk, he scorned a Russian summons to surrender: 'A Marshall never surrenders; we do not negotiate under the fire of cannon; you are my prisoner'. After dark, the French crept away from under the Russians' noses to escape in single file across the barely frozen River Dnieper. Typically Ney waited three hours before crossing to rally his stragglers, sleeping like a child, rolled up in his cloak. Ney's resource was greeted as a victory. Napoleon exclaimed that he would have given three hundred million francs to save him: 'What a soldier! The army of France is full of brave men, but Michel Ney is truly the



Above: The Retreat from Moscow. Ney's corps was sacrificed daily to save the rest of the Grande Armée, but the retreat made him a national hero. Ney is portrayed in the centre holding a musket.

harvest of the brave!" Ney continued to cover the retreat, except when called on to clear four times his own numbers of Russians off the road west of the deadly Berezina. He fired the last shots of the retreat at Kovno, and threw the last abandoned muskets into the Niemen, before escaping through the woods alone to avoid the Cossacks. He was the last French soldier to leave Russian soil.

The Retreat from Moscow made Ney a national hero. Desperate for good publicity, Napoleon brought him back to Paris to be cheered by admiring crowds, and proclaimed him Prince de Moskowa. The Russians were less impressed, marching into Germany to support a revived Prussian army. The ensuing campaign of 1813 stretched even Napoleon's ability to handle his huge army of conscripts. Ney found himself commanding groups of several corps, almost half the Grande Armée, a role for which he was unsuited by temperament and training. He begged Napoleon to release him from 'cet enfer', avowing he would rather serve as a grenadier, but he remained in command until the climax of the campaign at Leipzig in October 1813, where 175,000 French held out for three days against 325,000 Allies. Ney had two horses shot from under him, and took a musket ball in the shoulder before lack of ammunition forced Napoleon to withdraw.

Ney returned to France more tired than he had ever felt in his life. When Russian troops entered Paris in April 1814, he had had enough, and took a leading part in Napoleon's abdication: the army, he said, would follow its leaders, rather than its defeated Emperor. This was the decisive

moment for Ney's historical reputation; not Quatre Bras or Waterloo. Napoleon never forgave Ney's intervention in politics for it was unexpected, unlike the premeditated treachery of Marshals Bernadotte and Murat, or the plots of his slippery Foreign Minister Talleyrand. Although publicly reconciled to Ney during the Hundred Days, Napoleon ignored him until the last possible moment before opening the Waterloo campaign. After 1814, Napoleon's comments on Ney's abilities must be treated with the gravest suspicion, for example the often repeated claim that Ney was out of his depth commanding more than ten thousand men. As we have seen, Ney was one of Napoleon's most distinguished corps commanders, regularly entrusted with larger forces than that. He was no strategic genius, but neither was he 'too stupid to be able to succeed'.

Ney's record and his now equivocal relationship with Napoleon are crucial to any assessment of his performance during the Waterloo campaign. Everyone knows what happened at Waterloo, or at least thinks they do, for few battles are so encumbered with mythology. However, careful examination of the evidence soon shows the flimsy basis of the two charges regularly brought against Ney's generalship there: first that he failed to carry out his orders to seize the strategic crossroads at Quatre Bras (15-16 June 1815) in time to co-operate in Napoleon's attack on Blücher's Prussians at Ligny, second that he recklessly threw away the French reserve cavalry at Waterloo (18 June).

The rambling and confused instructions passed to Ney by Napoleon and his stand-in

Chief-of-Staff Marshal Soult contain no direct orders about Quatre Bras until midday 16 June. On the contrary, they told Ney to expect an advance towards Brussels, not Ligny, some time during the afternoon. Ney received no orders to envelop the Prussians until 4.15pm, not long before von Alten's Anglo-Hanoverian division arrived at Quatre Bras to tip the odds against him. Throughout the day Napoleon seems to have completely ignored the possibility of Anglo-Dutch interference with Ney's movements¹⁰. Without direct orders, Ney could not be expected to advance against Quatre Bras. He had learned the hard way that his duty was to obey the Emperor, not to anticipate him, suffering stinging rebukes in the Jena and Eylau campaigns for having done so. As soon as Ney received orders to clear Quatre Bras he prepared to attack, even though half his infantry had yet to arrive. The mix-up that left d'Erlon's corps dangling ineffectually between two battles is a red herring as far as Ney's generalship goes, except that it left Ney with only three divisions, instead of seven, against Wellington's four.

Two days later came Napoleon's last throw of the dice, the result of which so baffled him that he simply denied the reality of his defeat. Back in Paris the Emperor deluded himself about carrying on the war, and threw a veil of treason over the mistakes



Left: Marshal Ney at Waterloo. Ney led five cavalry charges at Waterloo, having four horses shot beneath him. Wellington thought it the most desperate battle of his career: 'I never took so much trouble about any battle, and never was so near being beat'.



Below: Ney's statue in Paris erected in 1853.

of the campaign, all carefully omitted from the official bulletins: Ney had behaved like a madman — made him butcher all the cavalry. Certainly the latter were destroyed in a series of unsupported charges, but where was the infantry to support them once Wellington had disordered the first line of French divisions, and Napoleon himself had diverted his reserves to face Blücher's approaching Prussians? Ney sent for support when he saw the Anglo-Dutch line begin to waver, but Napoleon would not commit the Guard until the moment had passed. In hindsight, the defeat of the Guard's columns merely underlines the superiority of British linear tactics, but had they attacked when Ney asked for them, they might have won the battle whatever their formation.

Regardless of its specific circumstances, the Waterloo campaign clearly showed the deterioration of Napoleon's military system, underlining the experience of 1813. The French army only functioned properly in the Emperor's presence, when all gave way to his genius, and petty jealousies disappeared before the majesty of the throne¹¹. Napoleon systematically starved his subordinates of initiative, so they often failed when left to their own devices. Nevertheless, the Marshalate represented a remarkable galaxy of military talent. Ney stood out sufficiently in such company for Napoleon to entrust him repeatedly with some 40% of his strength: at Bautzen and Dennewitz in 1813, and again at Quatre Bras. The same mixture of Napoleonic secrecy and delayed orders hampered Ney's operations at Bautzen, as at Quatre Bras. Napoleon had always stretched his military machine to the limit, but by 1815 he was

running out of the luck that had favoured his earlier enterprises. His indomitable character, which so often tipped the scales in his favour, now worked against him. He could not accept advice from subordinates who had fought in the Peninsular, and was blind to the objective factors that would cause his own defeat: the moral strength of the opposing commanders, the numerical disproportion between the two sides, the fragility of French morale after the disasters of 1812-13, his own loss of energy.

Napoleon's treatment of Ney was not therefore the result purely of political calculation. The self-serving Napoleonic version of events at Quatre Bras and Waterloo was primarily a psychological phenomenon. So was the reaction of the Bourbons after their second restoration by foreign bayonets. Demanding Ney's indictment for treason, their Chief Minister spoke like a madman, reminding onlookers of the worst excesses of the Terror. Women of usually gentle disposition turned into furies at the thought that Ney might escape punishment. Their fear and hatred of the Corsican ogre Napoleon was displaced onto the readily accessible Ney, now

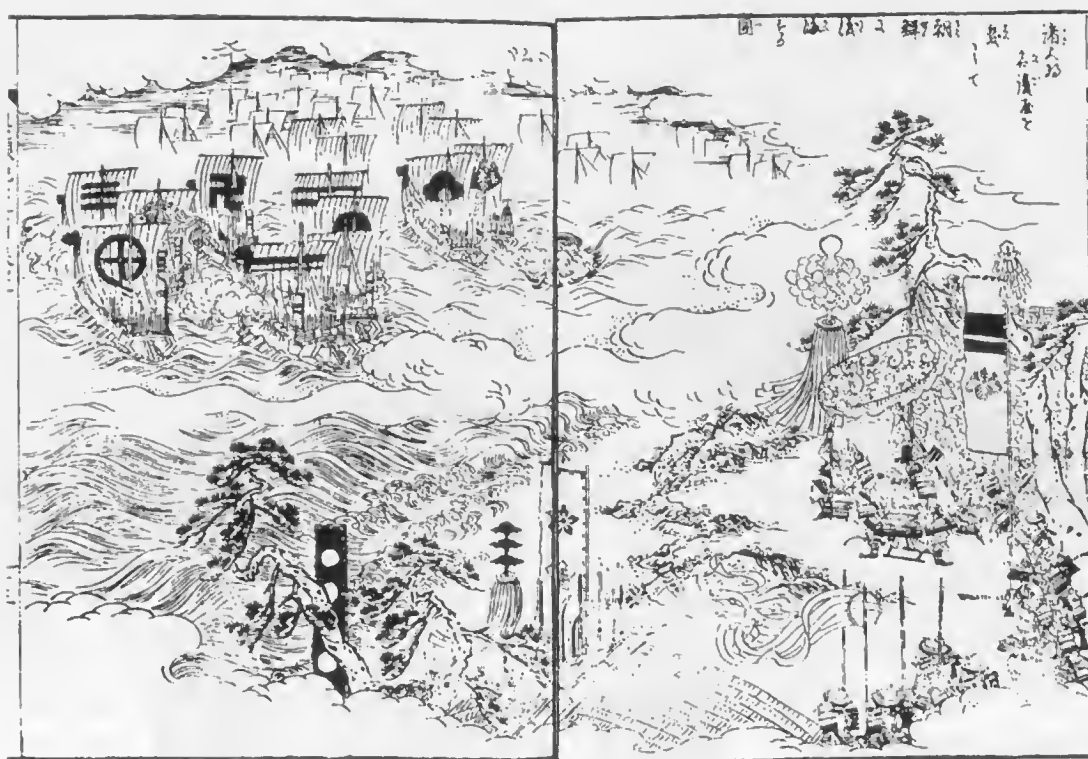
an ironic symbol of Bonapartists popularity. On 7 December 1815 Michel Ney was shot in Paris by a firing squad, not far from the position of his statue in the Avenue de l'Observatoire. He himself, with his customary heroic calm, gave the order to fire.

Ney's judicial murder largely satisfied the Bourbon thirst for blood, the Government avoiding a wholesale massacre of Napoleon's senior generals and officials. At a personal level the Marshal's death more than paid for his errors. Ney's military reputation might be sounder had he perished at Friedland, in the moment of his finest triumph, but he remains one of Napoleon's most dramatic Marshals.

His name is still familiar, while others are forgotten. Some degree of rehabilitation has occurred: Ney's widow eventually received a pension, and in the Musée des Invalides Gérard's portrait of the Marshal hangs at the Emperor's right hand, his unnerving gaze still revealing something of his astonishing vitality. Sometimes historians admit Ney's early achievements, or present Quatre Bras from his point of view, but many find it hard to abandon the stereotype of the headstrong bungler blinded by the fury of battle. Almost two hundred years after the Emperor's last campaign, historians still sacrifice Ney's reputation to sustain the Napoleonic legend; a striking example of the enduring disgrace of the scapegoat ●

Notes

1. *Le Rougeaud* implies ruddy faced, not red haired. Contemporary paintings clearly show Ney with brown or auburn hair.
2. Raymond Horricks: *Marshal Ney: The Romance and the Real* p83.
3. Richard Humble: *Napoleon's Peninsular Marshals* p79.
4. Napoleon to his brother Joseph, Aug 1808 — quoted by Commandant Henri Lachouque: *Napoleon's Battles* p194.
5. Horricks p109. The Prince of Essling was Masséna.
6. Count Philip de Ségur: *History of the Expedition to Russia* vii p152-3.
7. Ségur vii p230.
8. Horricks p139.
9. D Chandler: *On the Napoleonic Wars* p112.
10. See CW Robinson *Wellington's Campaigns* Appendix II for the original French text of all the orders sent to Ney on 16 June.
11. Ney 10 Sep 1813 quoted by Rousset *La Grande Armée de 1813* p152.



Samurai Heraldry

Samurai and their warlords displayed a bewildering array of flags and banners, with symbols ranging from swastikas to severed heads. DR STEPHEN TURNBULL untangles the subject and identifies some of the key emblems.

Throughout Japanese history samurai armies used increasingly complex means of battlefield identification. Although there are differences from similar systems in use in contemporary Europe, the principles of recognition through design and an accepted hereditary basis of transference make the term 'heraldry' an appropriate one to use.

The basis of early Japanese heraldry would appear to be that of the use of different coloured flags to indicate family allegiance. The type of flag used at this time was not the stiffened banner (*nobori*) of later years, but a flag called a *bata-jirushi*, a streamer attached by a short horizontal cross piece to a shaft. The other means of identification were the *mon* (family crests), which were stencilled on to banners and *maku* (field curtains), and painted on to the front of the large wooden shields used to provide defence lines on a battlefield. However, pictorial sources for this early use

of *mon* have to be examined with care, because many are of a later date than the events they represent. Illustrations of the campaigns of Minamoto Yoshiie from 1086-89 in the *Gosannen Kassen Emaki* show the use of stencilled designs on the *maku*. The design is of geese, presumably an allusion to the incident whereby Yoshiie was warned of an enemy ambush by birds flying from a location. This association leads one to question its authenticity.

Little is known for certain regarding the heraldry adopted by the Taira and the Minamoto during the Gempei Wars of 1180-85 except for the Taira use of red flags and the Minamoto use of white flags. Use of these flags is well established, and there are several references to the two colours in the *Heike Monogatari*. Later illustrations of the Gempei Wars frequently show the Minamoto using on the white banner a *mon* of a floral design: three flowers of *rin*do

(gentian) above five leaves of *sasa* (bamboo). The Taira are attributed the use of various designs of a butterfly. In an illustration from a seventeenth century woodblock printed edition of the *Heike Monogatari*, two varieties of butterfly are shown on the wooden shields fastened to the front of the Taira ships during the battle of Ichinotani. Unfortunately there are no textual references that give descriptions of such insignia during the Gempei Wars. An actual banner from the Gempei Wars is preserved in the museum of the shrine built

The departure of Hideyoshi's fleet for Korea in 1592 is shown here in a section from the Ehon Talkōki. The *mon* of the commanders appear on the sails of their ships. On land we see Hideyoshi's headquarters and his 'thousand gourd standard'. His *kiri mon* appears on the white *nobori* banner beneath a gohel.

厭離穢土
欣求淨土

Left: The flag of the Jodô sect of Buddhism used by Tokugawa Iyasu. It bears the slogan, 'Renounce this filthy world and attain the Pure Land'.



Right: The 'chrysanthemum on the water' mon of Kusunoki Masashige appears on his white banner. The Kusunoki were almost unique being allowed to use a variation of the imperial kiku (chrysanthemum) badge.

on the site of the Battle of Yashima. The flag is a white banner that was used by the Minamoto at the battle. It is plain and bears no design.

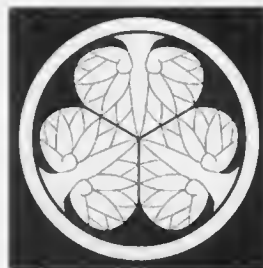
A careful reading of the *Heike Monogatari* text confirms the use on certain occasions of more than just plain flags. The Second Battle of Uji in 1184 was fought across the Uji-gawa between Minamoto Yoshinaka and his cousin Minamoto Yoshitsune, and both sides had previously used white banners when fighting their separate campaigns against the Taira. How were they now to be distinguished? In the account of the battle a certain man sees an army coming towards him: 'Yoshitsune himself, leaving the conduct of the battle to his subordinates, rode off with five or six retainers to the Palace of the Ho-o in Rokujô, to guard it against any further perils. Here Daizen no Taiyû Naritada had mounted up to the eastern wall and was surveying the turmoil outside, his whole body shaking in the extremity of his terror, when he saw the small band approaching with their helmets



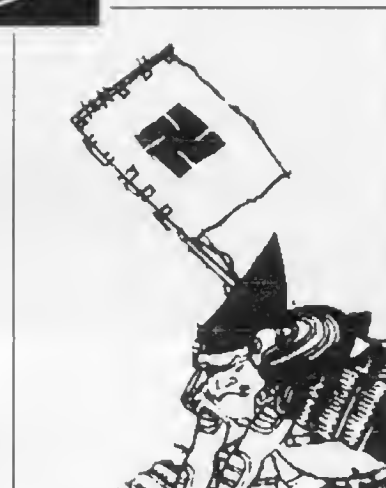
Above: The bizarre flag of Matsuno Hirochika, who killed a young enemy in 1615, and had the flag painted as an indication of his attempts to pray for the soul of his victim. The man's severed head is shown.

Right: Three important designs of mon. The first is the eoi (hollyhock) leaves in the circle, used by the Tokugawa family. The second is the kiri mon (paulownia), which was originally an imperial device and later adopted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, among others. The third is a triple tomoe (comma shape) used by Kobayakawa Takakage and others.

Right: The white banner (hete jirushi) of the Minamoto family used by them during the Genpei Wars. The mon (badge) is associated with them, but there are no definitive contemporary descriptions. It is of three flowers of gentian above five leaves of bamboo.



Below: The sashimono flag of Hachisuke Iemasa (1558-1638), bearing a swastika, a very ancient Buddhist symbol.



hanging loose from the fight, their bow-hand sleeves flying loose in the wind, and the white colours of the Genji displayed. "Alas, how terrible!" he shrieked. "It is Kiso who has come again!" Very soon the terrified man is reassured, and: 'the voice of Naritada was heard again, "It may be the warriors of the East who are just entering the town, for the insignia they wear is different.'"

The insignia could well have been the Minamoto mon. That some form of family crests were used is also indicated in a later passage in *Heike Monogatari* concerning Yoshinaka's attack on the Hojûjiden: 'According to Yoshinaka's usual strategy they were divided into seven companies... As a sign of recognition they all wore a badge of pine leaves.' This account further implies that Kiso Yoshinaka chose a different mon from his cousin Yoshitsune (of the main line of the family) to be distinguishable on the battlefield. A further example of a mon being added to the white banner is the occasion of the death of a member of the Kodama family, allies of the Minamoto, distinguished by

having a black fan design on the flag.

As well as mon and other figurative designs many illustrations also show white banners with black bands of different sizes at the top. It was quite common in later history for flags to be differentiated in such a way to indicate various divisions of an army, so this may well have been found during the Genpei Wars also. The size of the divisional organisations is difficult to estimate. According to the *Heike*



Above: The wide range of Japanese heraldry is shown on this painted screen depicting the relief of Ulsan castle in Korea in 1598. The relieving army is approaching from the left side. In the foreground a number of footsoldiers with large nobori banners on their backs give order to the army. Many sashimono may be identified. The contrast with the triangular Chinese flags is very noticeable.



Left: A heta jirushi flag is shown bearing a mon of two feathers in this section from the Mongol Invasion Scroll.

Monogatari, Kiso Yoshinaka regularly split his army up into seven units, each varying in number according to the men available. The number of banners must have given some indication of the number of men, because the carrying of extra banners was used by Yoshinaka at the Battle of Kurikara to trick the Taira into thinking that there were more troops present than there actually were.

The most detailed description of a flag in the *Heike Monogatari* is for neither Taira nor Minamoto but for a contingent of warriors from the Kumano shrine who fought at Dan no Ura. Their white flag bore a representation of Kongodōji, the guardian of the three shrines of Kumano.

Contemporary illustrations of the use of the large wooden shields on battlefields often show black bands painted on them, and also *mon*. A picture of a sixteenth century battle by a monk army shows examples of *mon*, black bands, and the use of prayer inscriptions written in *bonji* (sanskrit characters).

During the following century, the adoption of *mon* becomes more systematised. In the Iriki-in family records we read for Iriki-in Jōshin that he 'made the mistletoe his family crest upon banners and tents' in 1248.

A few years later the *Moko Shūrai Ekotoba* (Mongol Invasion Scroll) shows the use of various *mon* on hata-jirushi type flags. The accompanying inscription reads: 'the vanguard of 100 warriors led by Shiraishi Rokurō. The hata jirushi carries the badge of the unit.'

Moving forward to the fourteenth century and the Nanbokuchō Wars, the Kusunoki family, who supported Emperor Go Daigo in his rebellion against the Hōjō regency used the device of an imperial chrysanthemum floating on the water. The use of the chrysanthemum (*kiku*) as the imperial insignia was first associated with Emperor Go-Toba (1185-98), from which time it became the imperial prerogative, and it was the Kusunoki family's outstanding loyalty that allowed them to adopt a variation of it. Their enemies, the Hōjō, are distinguished by their use of the *mon* of three fish scales, the device later to be associated with the Hōjō of Odawara.

The Ashikaga family, who were the victors in the Nanbokuchō Wars, are the first family in Japanese history to be associated with the *mon* of the *kiri* (paulownia). It was originally an imperial crest, conferred by the Emperor on the Ashikaga Shōgun, who in turn conferred it on warriors of merit. the

flag used by Ashikaga Shigeuji (1434-97) the first Koga-kuhō, shows a *kiri mon* beneath a red rising sun on white.

The use of such *mon* becomes well established by the Sengoku Period. The Tokugawa family used the *aoi* (hollyhock) in an attractive design of three hollyhock leaves pointing inwards within a circle. Toyotomi Hideyoshi used the *kiri mon*, while several families used variations on the ancient device of the *tomoe* (comma-shape) associated with yin and yang. The triple *tomoe* for example, formed the *mon* of Kobayakawa Takakage (1532-96). Such *mon* appeared on the clothes of guards at daimyō's residences and on hanging curtains, but their use on the battlefield was by no means so straightforward. A popular use was on the sails of the daimyō's ships, as shown in the accompanying illustration which depicts Hideyoshi's fleet sailing off for the invasion of Korea. The *mon* of the Shimazu of a cross in the ring is very noticeable. On land we may note Hideyoshi's *kiri mon* banner, and his 'thousand gourd' standard. Hideyoshi's use of one gourd is better recorded, and Takahashi Ken'ichi, in his book *Hata Sashimono*, devotes several pages to a discussion of whether or not Hideyoshi ever really did adopt the famous 'thousand gourd



Left: This print of the Battle of Shizugatake (1583) shows a samurai with a sashimono of a rising sun, topped with a three dimensional skull.

Right: 'As Immoveable as a mountain', part of a quotation from the military classic of the Chinese SunTsu which Takeda Shingen applied himself appears here on a white nobori banner held by a samurai.



Left: This painted screen of the Battle of Sekigahara in the Watanabe Museum, Tottori shows the heraldry of two prominent supporters of the Tokugawa family. The white flags with the black star mon are Hosokawa, while the red devices are of the Ii family. The gold fly-trap standard is well illustrated.



Below: A painted scroll depicting the siege of Chihaya in 1333. The triple triangle mon of the Hojo may be noted on shield and flag.



standard', and notes that as late as 1575 only one gourd is to be seen. This is on the famous painted screen of the Battle of Nagashino.

Mon were certainly used on the *sashimono* flags worn on the back of the armour by samurai and ashigaru, with various field colours indicating separate military units. However, many other devices were used, and it is well recorded (for example in the Ii family chronicle) that certain samurai had their names emblazoned on their *sashimono* rather than a *mon*. *Mon* would also appear on the larger flags described below. Some *mon* designs were used by more than one family, and in the majority of cases the depiction of *mon* as a white design on black or a black design on white is purely an artistic convention, the design being more important than the colour. When displayed on flags the practice would appear to be to display white *mon* on any colour except white, where a black *mon* is used.

To understand the display of *mon* on the battlefield it is necessary to appreciate the range of flags which were available to carry them. The *hata-jirushi* streamer was still used, an example being the flags of Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-97), the 15th and last Ashikaga Shōgun. The flags are white, one with a red sun and gold lettering, the other black on white.

The first of these two flags is referred to as the Ashikaga *uma jirushi*, which literally means 'horse insignia', and was the device personally associated with the individual daimyō. I have translated this by the familiar

European expression 'standard'. In most cases two are identified: the *o uma jirushi*, great standard, and the *ko uma jirushi*, or lesser standard. Daimyō in the lower income bracket tended to have just one, an arrangement that was formalised in the 1645 schedules of the Tokugawa Shogunate, with daimyō above 1,300 *koku* having a *ko uma jirushi*, and those above 6,000 *koku* having an *o uma jirushi* as well. Some standards are these long *hata jirushi* flags attached to the shaft only by a cross pole at the top. Others are large rectangular flags with a bold design. A striking example is Matsuno Hirochika, a retainer of the Date family. His unusual banner bore the design of the severed head of a young warrior. It was drawn in black ink on white cloth to represent the pale face of death, with blood dripping from the neck. It was said to have been derived from an actual incident in 1615 when Matsuno decapitated a young enemy in battle. The head was interred, and as a sign of his intentions to pray for the entry of the dead man into paradise, Matsuno had the flag made.

Akechi Mitsuhide (1526-82), once the loyal general of Oda Nobunaga, and later his murderer, used as his *mon* the *kikyō*, a five petalled flower. In a section from *Ehon Taikō-ki* it appears on his flag and also on the back of his own *jimbaori* (surcoat). Mogami Yoshiaki (1546-1614) had a simple geometric *mon*, but used on his standard the design of a *sotoba*, a Buddhist device.

Many families used a very large cylindrical streamer on a circular frame, familiar from their use today on a smaller scale in the Boys' Festival. These were called *fukinuki*. But the use of any sort of flag is outnumbered by the huge assembly of weird and wonderful constructions made from wood, basket work, lacquered papier-mache

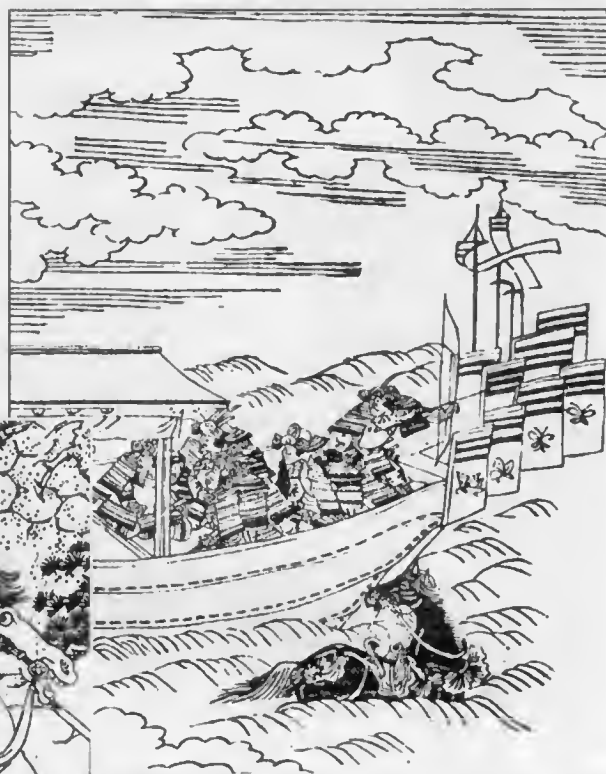
and feathers. These brilliant devices, often finished in gold or silver, provided a striking rallying point for a daimyō's army. For example, we may note the use of a gold lacquered *gohei* used by Shihata Katsuie. A *gohei* is a ceremonial wand used by a Shinto priest. Katsuie's standard was carried by his retainer Menju Ictora, who earned great glory by rescuing his master's standard from the midst of an enemy army. A smaller *gohei* also appears on Katsuie's *sashimono*, along with his *mon* of a bird design.

As well as the *uma jirushi*, the Japanese battlefield displayed many *nobori*, which I translate as 'banner'. The banner was essentially the flag of the clan, and many would appear on the battlefield, identifying separate units of the clan army. They appear as long vertical flags, fastened through loops to a pole, and kept rigid by a cross piece at the top, a popular form of flag found often in Japan today. In many cases the overall design of a *nobori* is simply that of a long flag with the *mon* stencilled near the top. Two *uobori* appear on illustrations of Katō Kiyomasa fighting in Korea. One bears his *mon* of a circle under a three dimensional device, the other is black and white, bearing the motto of the Nichiren sect 'Namu Myōho Renge Kyō'.

Even more numerous than the banners were the *sashimono*. This was an identifying device, usually a flag, that was worn on the back of armour by individual samurai from about 1530 onwards. The *sashimono* was flown from a short pole, and secured by two cords that passed under the samurai's armpits to tie on to two rings on the front of the armour. The *sashimono* is often a smaller version of the banner. Even smaller flags, sometimes grouped in pairs or threes, would often be worn by the ashigaru, the foot soldiers who formed the backbone of the army. In other cases the only identification used by the ashigaru was the *mon* lacquered on to the front (and sometimes the back) of the armour.

Finally, there are the identifying devices worn by the *tsukai-ban*, the messengers of the army. These key, elite individual samurai, who are the equivalent of aides de camp, often wore the balloon-like basket work *borō*, topped by a flag, making them instantly identifiable to friend and foe alike. Their battlefield heraldry was usually quite spectacular. The other heraldic device noted on some illustrations is the lord's helmet, which would be carried on a polearm until he was ready to wear it. It thus functioned as a heraldic device.

Right: A section from a woodblock printed edition of *Heike Monogatari* showing a ship owned by the Taira. On the wooden shields at the prow are two variations of the butterfly *mon*, and hata *jirushi* type flags bearing simple black bands on the red background.



Left: Akechi Mitsuhide is shown here accompanied by footsoldiers, one of whom is carrying his standard, which is a large stiffened flag bearing the kikyō *mon*. This design also appears on the back of Mitsuhide's surcoat.



An example of all these devices may be found in the illustration of two members of the Hachisuka family. Hachisuka Iemasa (1558-1638) wears a personal *sashimono* of white with a black swastika, a very ancient Buddhist symbol. His son Yoshishige's (1581-1615) heraldry encompasses an *uma jirushi* consisting of two very large balls of feathers on a basket work frame, a *uobori* in black and white using the swastika *mon*, two small black flags as the *sashimono* for the samurai, and a black and white *borō* for the messengers. Ukita Naoie (1530-82) shows an interesting use of his *mon* (the character *ji*) in his three dimensional gold *uma jirushi*, and his black and white *nobori*.

During the Edo Period the use of *mon* became systematised, and several books were published laying out in minute detail the precise design, colour and number of a daimyō's display, which would only have been seen on his progress to and from Edo, the remnant of a warlike tradition.



Above: This section from *Ehon Talkōki* shows an army of warrior monks. Their wooden shields have painted on them various *mon*, simple black bands, and also *bonji* (sanskrit characters) which are probably prayers or invocations.

The Great Cavalry Raid

As the Royalist cause shuddered under the impact of the Parliamentarians at Marston Moor, Langdale's Northern Horse took their own revenge in the greatest cavalry raid of the English Civil War. JOHN BARRATT analyses the notorious cavalry force and tracks down the route of their attack.

By late on the evening of July 2nd, 1644, the Royalist armies under Prince Rupert had suffered a crushing defeat on the field of Marston Moor. The North of England, apart from a few stuhhornly resisting garrisons, seemed lost to King Charles, and most of the Northern Royalist forces of the Marquis of Newcastle broken beyond recovery. A few thousand of his cavalry however, chose to fight on alongside the Royalist forces in the South, and under the title of the Northern Horse, were during the next twelve months to carve for themselves a formidable reputation. Their Relief of Pontefract in early 1645, would be one of history's classic, if little-known, cavalry operations.

The origins of the Northern Horse were to be found in the troops which the Earl (later Marquis) of Newcastle raised in the autumn of 1642 and early 1643 to fight for King Charles. Parliamentarian propagandists were quick to nickname Newcastle's force as the 'Popish Army', and indeed, not surprisingly considering the high proportion of Roman Catholics among the population of North-East England and Yorkshire, where Newcastle's forces were mainly raised, there were many of that religion in their ranks. This was especially the case among the Horse, where in some units as many as 50% of the officers were Catholic.¹ These links of religion were undoubtedly among the factors which were to give the Northern Horse such a strong sense of identity. Another important influence were the bonds of kinship which existed in some regiments.² Significantly, especially after Marston Moor, the evidence suggests that a large proportion of the rank and file of the Northern Horse were minor gentry, yeomen and servants of the officers — all men with a personal stake in restoring Royalists fortunes in the North.

Most of the men of the Northern Horse were relatively young — at the start of the war the colonels of horse in Newcastle's army had an average age of 30. Many were younger sons with few bonds to tie them at home. Yorkshire provided more recruits than any other county, followed by Northumberland, Durham, Cumhria, and a sprinkling of men from other countries, notably Lancashire and Derbyshire. During the campaigns prior to Marston Moor, in actions such as Seacroft Moor, Adwalton Moor, and the dogged resistance to the Scottish invasion of early 1644, the Northern cavalry had gained a vast amount of combat experience and built themselves a formidable — indeed fearsome — reputation.

The fierce independence and notable indiscipline off the field of battle frequently displayed by the Northern Horse was to be remarked upon by contemporaries, and indeed was a feature of the Northern Royalist cavalry from the outset. Their commanders, from Newcastle downwards, seem to have been fairly indifferent to the treatment meted out to civilians, disloyal or otherwise. There were particular reasons why this relative ferocity may have been a characteristic of the Northern Horse. Many of its members, with names such as Carnahy, Fenwick, Errington and Wray, were the grandsons of the infamous Border Rievers of Elizabeth's reign. They came from families where the tradition of freebooting ran deep. It was perhaps inevitable that in the loosened social conditions of Civil War they should revert to ancestral habits. Certainly after Marston Moor, the 'exiled' troopers were to encounter the traditional distrust of the Northerners (and Catholics) felt by many in Wales and the South of England³, and were to return this with an increasingly ruthless disregard for the civilian population. The Northern troopers were frequently accompanied by large herds of looted sheep and cattle, and in some ways resembled a 'tribe' in exile. Observers noted disapprovingly their camp followers or 'leaguer ladies', and in January 1645 items looted in Salisbury included



clothing for both women and children.⁴

Even before Marston Moor, the Northern Royalist cavalry were compared unfavourably with their counterparts from elsewhere. In June 1644, when under their then commander, Lord George Goring, Newcastle's horse joined Prince Rupert in Lancashire, it was noted that they were 'not in good case either for horse or armies', or, in another version 'extreme barbarous'.⁵ Certainly the Northern Royalist forces were probably never as plentifully supplied with firearms as, for example, was the King's 'Oxford Army', and there is some evidence that obsolescent items of armour and equipment may have been more commonly used among the Northern cavalry than was the case elsewhere. The quality of their

Above: Sir Marmaduke Langdale (1598-1661). Commander of the Northern Horse. Known to the Parliamentarians as 'Ghost', and 'deservedly, for they were so haunted by him', the formidable Langdale was one of the outstanding cavalry leaders of the English Civil War.

mounts also tended to be inferior. It seems likely that some of the Northern Horse may have more nearly resembled the traditional picture of Border 'moss-trooper' than the fully equipped Harquebusier with his buff coat, pot helmet, back and breast plate, pistols, carbine and sword.⁷

Langdale

To command and hold together such a force required a formidable leader. Fortunately such a man was available. Sir Marmaduke Langdale (born c. 1598), was a Yorkshireman, and one of the outstanding cavalry commanders of the English Civil Wars. In the 1620s Langdale, like many of his contemporaries, had gained military experience on the Continent. Never a very popular figure with some of his contemporaries, Langdale had during the 1630s been a leading opponent of Royal policies such as the notorious 'Ship Money' tax. The Earl of Strafford had said of him: 'that gentleman carries an itch that will never let him take rest, till at one time or other he happen to be thoroughly clawed indeed.' Langdale was a hardbitten and forbidding individual, whose nature is brought out by the tale that when he was dying, even Langdale's son was still too afraid of him to tell him so! The Earl of Clarendon, who knew Langdale, wrote of him as 'a man hard to please, and of a very weak understanding, yet proud, and much in love with his own judgement.'⁸

Others took a different view. The contemporary writer David Lloyd said: 'He was a very lean and much mortified man, so that the enemy called him "ghost" (and deservedly, they were so haunted by him); and carried that gravity in his converse, that integrity and generosity in his dealings, that strictness in his devotion, that experience, moderation and wariness in his counsel, and that weight in his discourse, as very much endeared strangers to his royal master's cause and to his own person.'⁹ Langdale won the devotion of his own men, who increasingly seem to have seen their allegiance with him even before the King. As a volunteer with the Northern Horse, Sir Henry Slingsby, was to observe during the Naseby campaign: 'they are not much inquisitive, and hitherto showed a mind indifferent what way they went, so they followed their General, and such an army had Caesar of whom they wrote that he would be so severe and precise in exacting discipline, as he would not give them warning of the time either of journey or battle, but kept them ready, intente and prest to be led forth upon a sudden every minute of an hour, withersoever he would. And as Julius Caesar was severe in requiring an exact observance of strict discipline, so he would teach them to endure hardships by his own example, lighting from his horse and leading them on foot many times with the head bare, whether the sun did shine or the clouds did pour down rain.'¹⁰



In theory, troopers of the Northern Horse, like the figures depicted here, would have been fully equipped with back and breast plates, pot helmets, sword and pistols and perhaps carbines. In reality, they seem to have been rather less well provided for, and, despite some refitting during the winter, many probably lacked some of the basic equipment.



Langdale, who by the time of Marston Moor was senior brigade commander with the Northern cavalry, had an able team of senior officers, including his second-in-command, Sir William Blakiston, and divisional commanders such as Sir Gameliel Dudley and Sir Philip Monckton, all noted for extreme gallantry in action. At Marston Moor the Northern cavalry had totalled some 3500 men, elements of over 30 weak regiments. To them was due most of the credit on the Royalist side in the battle, and even after the defeat George Goring and his successor Langdale had considerable success in holding together their men, who did not regard the fight for the North as yet lost.

But by August 1644, with York surrendered, and prolonged resistance in Lancashire doomed after defeat at Ormskirk, Langdale, whose men had already begun to alienate the local population with their looting and widespread disorder¹¹, resolved that his only option was 'to advance to the King, who if he get the better would be in a better condition to relieve these Northern Countries'¹². However their increasingly desperate journey south almost proved the end of the Northerners. Langdale was wounded in another defeat at Malpas in Cheshire, and many of his ordinary troopers deserted, and returned home. Harassed both by the enemy and by a civilian population alienated by the Northerners' excesses, Langdale's men eventually joined the King early in November, sadly reduced in both numbers and effectiveness.

Pulled back to recuperate in winter quarters around Salisbury, it was a remarkable tribute to Langdale's leadership that within a few weeks he both reanimated and reorganised his force. The personnel of the Northern Horse was constantly subject to some change, serving as it did as a rallying point for the Northern 'exiles', some of whom only remained in its ranks for a short time. By now, though it included the remnants of at least 26 regiments, the greatest proportion of its strength consisted of officers

(in some cases 'reformadoes' — men whose units no longer existed), and their servants and personal retainers. The large number of field officers thus reduced to serving in the ranks must have caused command problems, and

whilst potentially a formidable fighting force, morale always seems to have been brittle. It seems most likely that Langdale organised the Northern Horse into two brigades, each of about 800 men. His own probably consisted of men from Yorkshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire, whilst the second, under Sir William Blakiston, included troops from Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmoreland. Each brigade was formed into two divisions, themselves formed from two squadrons of about 200 men, sometimes including the remains of several regiments, which probably no longer had any meaningful existence¹³.

March to the North

As the New Year of 1645 dawned, the Northerners, their confidence raised by a successful skirmish at Salisbury on Christmas Day, had not lost sight of their intention to liberate their homeland. In February, with Langdale's knowledge if not at his instigation, a number of his senior officers submitted a petition to the King, pointing out the value of the North to the Royalist cause, and the need to relieve the garrisons still holding out there, principally Carlisle and Pontefract Castle, and asking leave 'to march to the North, where we are constantly resolved to adventure our dearest blood.'¹⁴

Prince Rupert, anxious to avenge his



Ward provides details of formation for horse troops. Here he gives the formation to be used on the march and the positions that the officers are to take in a troop 120 men strong.

The Drilling or exercising of Horse Troopes. SECT. 12.

CHAP. CXIII.

The manner how a Commander over 120. Horse, his Officers, should
Troop with them upon the Field to be exercised.



Now were we to suppose this Troope of 120. horsemen are to be ordered in Ranks and File to draw into the Field for exercise: where note they are first in Ranks, and five deep in File, and every Officer marching in his due place, as appears by this subsequent demonstration.

Captaine.

Trumpet.

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That the Troope may move orderly, and keepe their distance: let the whole Troope move all at an instant, (viz.) when the Front moves, then the Rere so be ready, so shall they bee seldom found to erre.

In Marching or Trooping through a Towne, forget not to have your Peeces spread, and holding them in your hand, with their muzzles upwards, and the butt end resting upon your thigh.

First Corporall.

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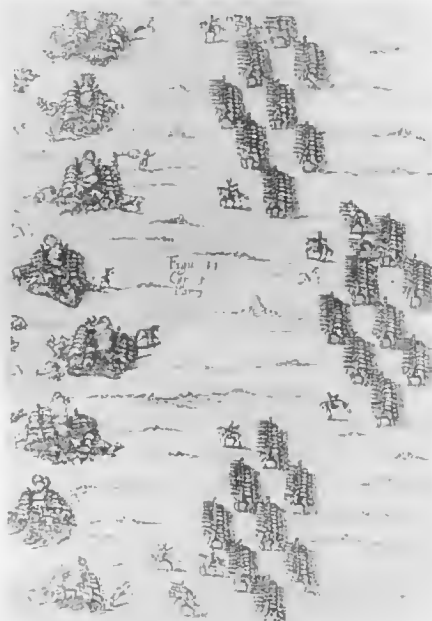
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The recommended formation for cavalry on the march, showing the positions to be occupied by the officers of a troop of horse. (Robert Ward, *Animadversions of Warre*, 1639).

Cavalry in action. Note the deployment in separate divisions, with those on the right moving up in support. Similar tactics were employed by Langdale at Pontefract (Wallhausen, *Manuale Militaire*, 1616).



his arrival at Banbury, on February 23rd, Sir Marmaduke had to be prepared for action at any time. He was temporarily reinforced by 300 horse from the Banbury garrison, under Sir William and Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Compton, and the march was resumed.

Contemporary military writers provided much advice on conducting an advance into enemy territory. John Cruso recommended that guides be employed from among the local population (though initially the Banbury garrison will have served this purpose) 'which may be able to give certain and particular information concerning the high-ways and crosse wayes, how many there be of them, whether they be even, large and free, or straight [narrow], hilly, or impeached with difficult passages. Also concerning ditches and rivers, whether there be bridges or not'.¹⁵ Knowledge of enemy intentions and movements was vital: 'Every good commander must have these two grounds for his actions; 1. The knowledge of his own forces, and wants (knowing that the enemy may have notice of thereof and therefore must he alwayes be studyinge for remedies, if the enemy should come suddainly upon him). 2. The assurance of the condition and estate of the enemy, his commodities and necessities, his counsels and designs, thereby begatting divers occasions, which afterward may bring forth victories.'¹⁶

For this reason Cruso advocated use of both spies and scouts, or 'discoverers', 'which must be sent out, not onely by the direct way, where the enemy is like to come, or you are to march, but to scoure all the by wayes on either side... These were to be 'choice men, valiant, vigilant and discreet...'' With one or two exceptions, Langdale seems to have been well served by his 'discoverers' during the Pontefract march.

First success

A first success came within a few hours of leaving Banbury, when the Royalists surprised and routed the Parliamentary Northamptonshire horse under Colonel Lydcott near Flore. Langdale would have been still more encouraged had he known that the enemy remained ignorant of his true intentions. Not until February 26th was Sir Samuel Luke, Parliamentary Governor of Newport Pagnell, and principal organiser of intelligence operations in the area, able to report: 'those forces which went from Banbury towards Newark prove to be the broken forces belonging to the Earl of Newcastle which have wintered near Salisbury [and] which are to recruit themselves in the North and to relieve those places in danger by our forces'¹⁸. Luke had grasped the basics of the Royalist plan, but it was questionable if there remained time to thwart it.

Detaching the Banbury forces, Langdale had continued his march. Pressing on throughout Monday, February 24th, without sign of the enemy, the Northern Horse reached Market Harborough in Leicestershire that night. Here he received incomplete reports that the Parliamentary East Midlands horse under Colonel Edward Rossiter were mustering to contest his passage. Details remained unclear until the following evening, when, as one of Langdale's commanders, Sir Gamaliel Dudley, reported: 'marching from Harborough towards Melton Mowbray, we were of full assured, for approaching neare the Towne we discovered some Horse and Dragoones in it, and upon another passe of the water, in a faire Meade, about halfe a mile from the Towne, theire maine strengthe (as we judged them) beinge near 2000 in all, were drawne up to oppose us at the passage, being a place of very great advantage.'¹⁹

Accounts of the action which followed, are, as usual contradictory. It seems that Rossiter's men, consisting of his own and Colonel Charles Fleetwood's Regiments, plus some garrison horse from Burleigh House, fearing that they might be trapped between Langdale and troops from the Royalist garrison to the north at Newark, decided to attack. The result was a fiercely contested engagement, in which the Parliamentarians had some initial success, before being overwhelmed by the Royalist reserves and driven back through the town in confusion.

Rossiter probably lost between 100-150

defeat at Marston Moor, was sympathetic, but the Northern Horse would be needed in the South when the 'Oxford Army' took the field in the spring. In the end a compromise was reached, whereby Langdale would be allowed to march to the relief of Pontefract, under increasing pressure from the Parliamentary Army of the Northern Association under Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, provided they rejoined Rupert immediately afterwards.

Pontefract Castle was of considerable strategic importance, guarding as it did the crossing of the River Aire on the main route from the south into the Vale of York. The situation seemed ripe with possibilities for the Royalists; the Parliamentarians regarded their hold on the North as far from secure, and (with the dwindling Scottish army tied up in the siege of Carlisle) the only troops available were those under Lord Fairfax, still in the process of re-organisation.

Yet Sir Marmaduke Langdale faced a formidable task. Pontefract lay over 200 miles north of his quarters around Salisbury, and his small relief force of about 1500 men would have to penetrate some of the Parliamentary heartlands, studded with garrisons and local forces. Both speed and secrecy were essential, and neither dependents nor baggage could be taken. Langdale's troopers would have to forage for supplies for themselves and their horses along the line of march.

Langdale's march began about February 20th. Initially, his expedition passed through relatively secure Royalist territory, but from

men and several colours, the Royalists considerably less.²⁰ As the Parliamentary commander admitted as he drew off to lick his wounds, he had failed to halt Langdale: 'they are now on their march to Newark and some think they intend for Pontefract, others think for the Association.'²¹

With everything still to play for, though they had already marched '15 long dirty miles' that day before fighting Rossiter, Langdale urged his tired troopers on through the night until they were beyond Belvoir Castle. Next day the Royalists pressed on four miles beyond Newark, from whose garrison they were reinforced by a contingent of 400 horse and 400 foot. Throughout this time Langdale's men were living off the countryside, and Parliamentary accounts are filled with allegations of their atrocities, including torture, murder and rape.²² Though some of these were doubtless exaggerated for propaganda purposes, it seems likely that they were founded on a basis of truth. Any civilian unfortunate enough to encounter Langdale's embittered followers could expect rough treatment.

The Parliamentarians remained in serious doubt as to Langdale's intentions, and this seriously hindered their countermoves. As late as March 2nd, Luke was writing to Sir William Brereton, Parliament's commander in Cheshire: 'Last week there passed by 2000 horse under Sir Marmaduke Langdale which must join those coming towards you, but whether they come to the enemy's forces in your country or they in your country must go to them, I cannot yet determine.'²³

Among those anxiously sifting reports of Langdale's progress were the commanders of Lord Fairfax's troops besieging Pontefract Castle. For several days it seemed most likely that the Royalist objective was the Parliamentary heartland of the Eastern Association. Lord Fairfax (himself absent in York) was partially reassured on February 27th by a report from one of his officers that he had seen no sign of the enemy in Doncaster, 15 miles to the south of Pontefract, though he did take the precaution next day of pulling his heavy siege guns back from Pontefract to the north bank of the River Aire.

But the besieging force was still not properly prepared when, on the night of Friday, February 28th, Langdale's men reached Doncaster. Parliamentary patrols fell back before Langdale's advancing troopers, who were able to cross the River Don without opposition, and quartered for the night in Doncaster. The Parliamentary forces at Pontefract, commanded by Commissary-General John Lambert, despite a slight advantage in numbers, were ordered by Lord Fairfax to act defensively until reinforcements arrived. The troops at Lambert's disposal included his own Regiment of Horse, those of Christopher Copley, Matthew Wren and Matthew Alured, about

500 dragoons under Colonel Thomas Morgan, and the foot units of Lord Fairfax, John Bright and Robert Overton. In all he possibly had about 2000 horse and 1500 foot and dragoons.

Early on Saturday, March 1st, now only about 15 miles south of Pontefract, Langdale resumed his advance. He prepared for action, warning his men 'of the difficulties they could expect this day to encounter with, and therefore to go armed with the constancy of undoubted resolution, it being a business that was at first no less dangerous to undertake, than it was desperate to decline. The news was entertained by a welcome from the Soldiers that echoed out aloud their joyful acclamation.'²⁴ As the Royalists approached the River Went at Wentbridge, they found the crossing contested by Morgan's dragoons, together with a 'forlorn hope' of horse. Lambert's main force of horse appear to have been posted on a hill north of Wentbridge.

Langdale sent out his own 'forlorn hope' to engage the enemy forces holding the river crossing, and after a 'confused engagement' near the village of Darrington the Parliamentarians retired. The Royalists had 'without much danger' forced the passage of the Went, the last natural barrier before Pontefract, but the main enemy force was still intact. In a move aimed at linking up with the Pontefract garrison, Langdale left the main road at Darrington, and cut across country over the large open West and Carleton Fields, and some smaller enclosures known as the Upper Taythes.

Cavalry Action

Lambert's main force was now drawn up on the south side of the Taythes, on an area of common land known as the Chequerfields, with enclosed land on its fringes, which lay between the townships of Pontefract and Carleton, with a small brook to their rear and rising ground to their front. The Parliamentarians were probably deployed with their horse in the centre, and their foot (evidently mostly musketeers) and dragoons stationed in the hedgerows to their rear and right. Lambert's horse were somewhat disordered by the fighting retreat which many of them had made from Wentbridge.

It was probably about 5pm when



Left: Lieutenant-General John Lambert (1619-83). Though Lambert had proved to be a highly effective cavalry commander in the earlier stages of the war in the North, and would later be Cromwell's most outstanding general, his personal bravery would be insufficient to prevent Parliamentary defeat at Pontefract.

Langdale's leading troopers, in the words of Sir Gamaliel Dudley 'gained the Top of the Hill over against the

Castle, their [the Parliamentary] Army standing all drawne up at the bottom, and now me thought we viewed them with the fancy of that great Captaine when he first encountered Elephants: *Tandem par animis periculum video*.'²⁵ There were two generally accepted methods of fighting a cavalry action. The first was for a commander to fully deploy all his troops before engaging 'in a united or grosse body'²⁶ The alternative was to attack with individual troops, a rather difficult operation to co-ordinate. The military writer John Vernon explained: 'you must always appoint troops of Reserve, which are not by any means to engage themselves in fight till the first Troops have given the charge, and are reassembled behind them to make readie for the second charge.'²⁷

In fact Langdale seems to have been motivated by a desire to take advantage of the temporary confusion in the enemy ranks. 'A good advantage was it to us, that our Forlorn parties, seconded with severall divisions of our Horse, had beaten in that great body of their Van Curriers in such disorder into their Main Battaile as taking that opportunity with a continued charge they had not the time to recover themselves into any settled order, and though the suddainesse of the Action gave not leave for each Division of our Horse to observe its proper time and place for their severall orders to charge in, yet the whole of it was so fully done, as that there was not one Body of them all, but did four or five severall times that day act their parts with very gallant Execution.'²⁸

It seems that the initial Royalist attack was repulsed, largely by heavy fire from musketeers stationed in the hedges. Fighting continued for about three hours, until dusk fell, with the hunt of the action on the Royalist side bore by about 400 horse,

probably Langdale's 'reformadoe' unit and his own Regiment. Dudley added, however, that by the end of the day there were left organised enough to make a charge 'no more than three small Bodies consisting of above 120 in each Bodie which with some Officers and Gentlemen together rally'd gave a seasonable Charge to the last of the Enemy's strength'²⁹

A vital role in the final stages of the action was played by about 100 musketeers from the Pontefract garrison, who made a sally and took in the rear the Parliamentary foot who had been holding up the Royalist advance. Lambert's Regiment of Horse, which had been putting up firm resistance, faltered when one of its officers, a Captain Burton, leading the 'forlorn', was killed, and Lambert himself possibly wounded. Its collapse was followed in rapid succession by the rest of the Parliamentary units, despite an attempt by Colonel John Bright, riding a white horse at the head of his greencoated Foot Regiment, to organise a stand. In increasing disorder the Parliamentarians fell back towards Ferrybridge. Here the pursuit was temporarily checked by dragoons and an 'iron' gun, who attempted to hold the bridge, but they were quickly broken and the chase continued until nightfall.

Estimates of casualties differ widely. The Parliamentarians probably lost a total of about 800-1000 men, plus a large quantity of arms and ammunition and perhaps 26 cornets of horse and 22 foot colours. Royalist losses are unknown, but were relatively light. As Langdale informed Rupert in his despatch that night, the Pontefract march had been 'prosperous beyond expectation'³⁰. Not only had Lord Fairfax's army suffered a severe blow, but enough

supplies were brought into Pontefract Castle to enable it to hold out until July.

It is tempting to speculate on what the Northern Horse could have achieved if they had been able to follow up their victory. It is unlikely that Langdale could have reversed the decision of Marston Moor, but a revitalised Royalist presence in the North might have transformed the summer's campaigning.

In the event, Langdale had no option but to follow his orders to join Rupert on the Welsh Border as quickly as possible. The Northern Horse had won their greatest victory. Henceforward, their story was to be one of steadily increasing misfortune. Despite fighting bravely, they were to be overwhelmed by Cromwell's superior numbers at Naseby in June, and, after nearly bringing King Charles a victory at Rowton Heath in September, they were again defeated through lack of support.

The end of the Northern Horse as an effective fighting force came in October. Making a last forlorn bid to march North to link up with the Marquis of Montrose's Scottish Royalists, the last irreconcilable Northern troopers³¹ were broken in a fiercely contested action at Sherburn, ironically only 10 miles from the scene of their greatest triumph at Pontefract.

Notes

1. See Peter Newman, *The Royalist Armies in the North of England* (unpublished doctoral thesis) 1978.
2. In, for example, Francis Carnaby's Regiment, where a number of officers were related.
3. Dating back at least to the depredations of Queen Margaret's forces in the Wars of the Roses, and reinforced by the rebellions and conspiracies of the Tudor period.
4. See Edward Robinson, *Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire*, ed. William Beaumont

(Chetham Society, vol LXII, 1864), pp56-7.

5. *Prince Rupert's Diary*, (Wiltshire County Record Office).

6. Sir John Meldrum to COBK. CSPD 1644, p382.

7. It has been convincingly suggested that Colonel John Fenwick, of the Northern cavalry, was actually wearing a 16th century sallet-type helmet when he was killed at Marston Moor! (See *English Civil War Notes and Queries*, No 6, p18).

8. Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion*, 1888 ed, VIII, 32.

9. David Lloyd, *Memoirs...* 1668, p550.

10. Sir Henry Slingsby, *Diary*, (ed D Parsons) 1836, p145.

11. Robinson, *op cit*, p58.

12. Bodleian Library, *Firth MSS*. C7, ff178-9.

13. This organisation, suggested by Brigadier Peter Young, seems most probable, at least in broad outline. See Peter Young, *Naseby*, 1985, pp59-64.

14. Quoted in Young, *op cit* pp59; 72-4.

15. John Cruso, *Militarie Iustructions for the Cavalrie*, 1632, p57.

16. *ibid*.

17. *ibid*, p60.

18. H G Tibbutt (ed), *Letterbooks of Sir Samuel Luke*, 1963, p165.

19. Sir Gameliel Dudley's Account, *Mercurius Aulicus*, March 7th 1645, pp1401-7 (reprinted in John Barratt (ed), *A Royalist Account of the Relief of Pontefract*, in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol LIII, 1975, pp159-168).

20. See Dudley, *op cit*; Luke, *op cit*, pp 464-5.

21. Luke, *op cit*, p175.

22. *ibid*, pp204-5.

23. *ibid*, p175.

24. Dudley, *op cit*.

25. *ibid*. The Latin translates as 'At last we see a challenge to match our courage.'

26. John Vernon, *The Young Horseman*, 1644, pp 85-6.

27. *ibid*.

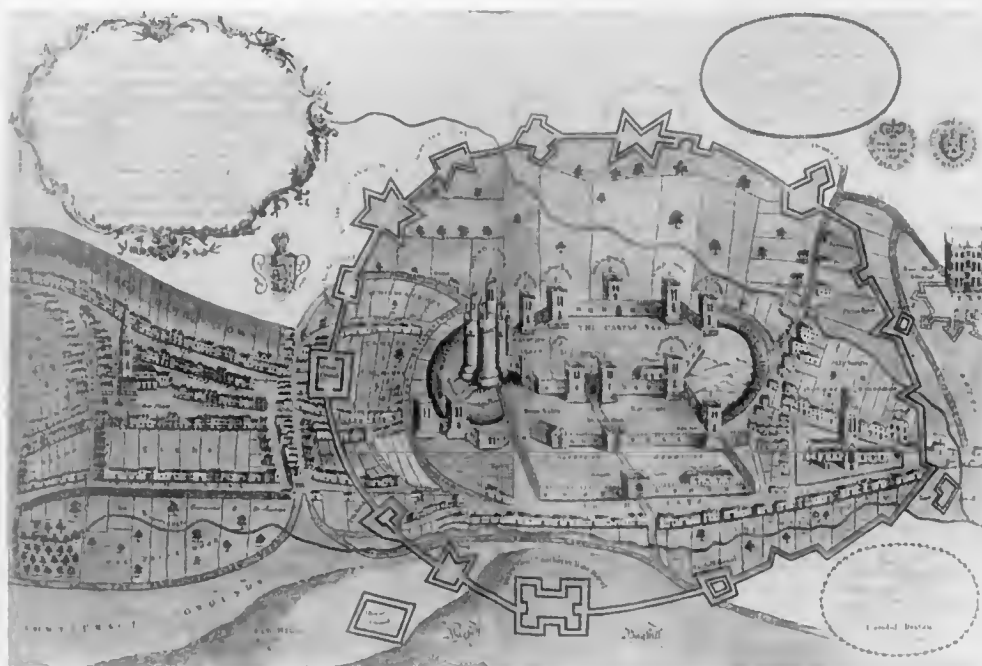
28. Dudley, *op cit*.

29. *ibid*. See also George Fox, *Three Sieges of Pontefract Castle*, reprinted 1987, pp37-46. Nathan Drake, *Sieges of Pontefract Castle* (ed Richard Holmes) 1887, pp29-30.

30. Quoted Dudley, *op cit*.

31. After the battle of Shirburn a Parliamentary officer at York wrote regarding the Royalist prisoners: 'Some of the private soldiers I have taken into service, others that were pressed men I have discharged, and there remains about one hundred and fifty that I believe will never change their partie so long as they live. They are most of them troopers that have been in the same service formerly with the gentlemen that are prisoners. Whensoever they are sett at libertie it will be an addiction of so many stout desperate men to the enemies' strength'. (HMC Portland MSS. I 1894, pp476-7).

The Siege of Pontefract from a contemporary print. Note the enclosed nature of the suburbs of the town.



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Militaria

The sale rooms are the haunt of three kinds of bidder. First and obvious is the one in the rooms; the second is the commission bidder. This one is too busy, too far away, too important or too shy to be in the room. He or she will have visited the viewing of the sale or had an agent do that and then sat down and looked long and hard at their cash resources, potential profits if it is a dealer or what they want for their collection. The commission bidder then makes out a list of the lots on which they will bid and carefully assesses the top figure they will want to pay for each item. This list is then posted or faxed to the auction rooms where the bids may be entered on the auctioneer's master catalogue or they may be passed to a clerk for action. The commission bidder is safe from one hazard of the auction — the 'one more bid' syndrome. A top price is decided by the bidder and somebody else reaches that figure and there is so often the thought that just one more bid will be enough — it seldom is. One more can lead to another 'one more' and suddenly the price is way over the planned bid. Since the commission bidders are not present in the rooms there is no such danger for them and the auction staff will not go beyond the top figure given. There is one simple escape to the problem and that is to set a top price plus one more. This means that although the preferred price may be set, there is just a little leeway allowing one more but only one.

The third type is the telephone bidder who will inform the rooms that they want to bid by phone during the sale. Such bidders are very often from abroad. Just before the first lot of interest is reached, the clerk will ring the client and then becomes the go-between passing the latest bid to the client and then taking instructions as to whether to bid on his behalf or not.

Once the sale starts then all three bidders will swing into action and the auctioneer will look at his register and offer a starting bid. The room-bidders may run this up and then the clerk or the auctioneer will be offering the commission bids as appropriate. If the telephone bidder is then involved, the bidding usually slows as it takes a little longer to pass the bids backwards and forwards over the phone. Eventually one or other offers the top bid and the auctioneer's hammer falls and the sale is binding.

The recent sale at Bonhams in March was a good example with all three types very much in evidence. The room was not very crowded but the lack of room-bidders was more than made up for by the other two types of bidders, for the commission bids flew thick and fast. The result was a very successful sale with some good prices, often well above the estimates. Larry Bravo who was born in Italy and then moved to Canada, began the collection for sale in 1961. His tastes were varied with a strong preference for oddities, scientific instruments and arms, armour and militaria. The sale was in two parts with the scientific instruments selling on the first day and arms and armour on the second. This section comprised over 250 lots of very varied items.

The highest price paid was £2,950 and that was for a lance cap of an officer of the 16th Lancers. It was in good condition and was in its japanned carrying tin complete with its plume of feathers. The fine lance plate had the crown of Edward VII, so dating it to 1901 — 1910. This was one of a group of head-dress from the British, Canadian and USA armies. At the other extreme the lowest prices, £20, went for bundles of sales catalogues and sundry periodicals.

The sale opened with a real surprise for the first lot

comprised three drums, two painted with the regimental badges of the 17th/21st Lancers and the Royal Scots Greys. The estimate was £100 - £150 but in no time at all the bidding was into four figures and the hammer fell at £1,500. A group of two early painted truncheons and three typical 19th century coshes, often known as the sailors' friends was estimated at £100 - £150, they went along happily to £190. These painted truncheons have certainly risen in value over the last few years. At one time they sold in bundles at around £20 a time but interest is growing. There was a pleasant group of 19th century army swords as well as number of other edged weapons including one of the large, typically Spanish knives known as navajas. The top estimate was £80 but it sold for £220 whilst a nice Edinburgh-made Bowie knife did very well and reached £400 with no trouble. A Venetian Schiavona with its typical elaborate hasket hilt doubled its top estimate, a price that was reckoned about the going rate. The hammer fell at

£1,800 and it must be remembered that on top of this price was to be added the buyer's premium and in this case as it was an imported piece VAT at 3%. The same happened to Lot 656 which offered a 19th century English stonebow and a similar French one at a top figure of £650 and this lot went to the Royal Armouries for £1,300.

There was a group of some 16 USA lawmen's badges with such evocative place names such as Wichita and Tombstone example.

The antique firearms sold well and included some first rate items like a French revolving turret pistol. In this type of revolver the charges are held in chambers of a vertically mounted, flat cylinder. They are not common and the estimate of £400 — £500 was left behind and sold at £1,100. Two fine cased sets of percussion target pistols complete with all accessories sold at £1,900 each. All in all the vendor and the auctioneers should have been very happy with result.

Frederick Wilkinson

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